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EAMONN DE VALERA.

EARLY LIFE
OF
EAMONN DE VALERA

BY

DAVID T. DWANE

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DEDICATION.

Before leaving Munster St. Patrick blessed its mountains, glens, and plains, its woods and fields.

To all our brave heroes who fought and suffered for Ireland, and in particular to those whose bodies now mingle with the Holy soil of Munster, I dedicate this book.

PREFACE.

It was the intention when undertaking the present work to give a short account of the life of Eamonn de Valera from boyhood to Easter Week. The task, however, had hardly been well commenced when what may be called the second phase of this generation's battle for Irish freedom began. As the conflict developed, Crown forces, in addition to their other activities, took to raiding and searching private residences, and any documents having reference to the Sinn Fein movement or its leaders were, if discovered, forthwith confiscated, while the householder was lucky if he escaped imprisonment. Under such circumstances the postponement of the work became inevitable. But this, though disappointing at the time, afforded an opportunity later on of including in the biography an account of the historic events leading up to the Treaty, without which any work on de Valera would be incomplete.

Readers in Ireland will readily understand the danger that was entailed in working during those days at papers relating to de Valera. When the military arrived at a house for the purpose of making a search they usually forced an entrance if not admitted within half a minute, thereby giving no time for the removal of what they called seditious documents. Indeed, as regards such raids the de Valera manuscript had nearly as many escapes as de Valera himself. The manuscript was kept in a writing desk provided with a secret drawer which it was proposed to screw up with a view to making it more secure, but before this had been done the military unexpectedly arrived. An officer spent over half an hour examining the desk, but though the manuscript was within reach he

failed to find it. He then proceeded to another part of the house, where he searched the pockets of a coat from which the first chapter had been removed only on the previous night.

The manuscript was then taken for greater safety to another house in the neighbourhood, but before a week had elapsed word was received that this house had been surrounded by military and police. They were not aware, however, of the existence of the manuscript and did not find it. Later it was brought away and buried in a garden, but a workman, who did not carry out his instructions, dug it up. Fearing that the box contained explosives he did not open it, but brought it to the author, so the secret still remained undisclosed. Four or five months later the manuscript was sent to a Dublin publishing house, but on the very night it was posted the military seized all the mail bags at the post office and had them removed to their Head Quarters for examination. The manuscript had not, however, been included in the despatch, having been overlooked in the registered letter safe by the post office official, so it once more escaped. Finally the manuscript was in the Ballybrophy railway accident in which one man was killed and several injured.

While hedged in with the various irritating restrictions imposed by the war, daily attendance at office work, and attention to farm business at home, time has, nevertheless, been found to complete the undertaking. The biography contains an epitome of the many historical events with which de Valera was directly or indirectly associated, and an effort has been made to present the whole in an interesting and faithful manner. It is hoped that this effort will not be without some degree of success.

DAVID T. DWANE.

Kilmallock, January, 1922.

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EARLY LIFE OF
EAMONN DE VALERA.

CHAPTER I.

"And Spanish ale shall give you hope, my dark Rosaleen"
—*Mangan.*

THE political and religious history of Ireland has been from early times closely associated with that of Western Europe. Within a short period of her conversion to Christianity by St. Patrick, Irish saints and scholars were found labouring unremittingly in France and Italy, and even down to the confluences of the Danube. They founded monasteries and built churches, many of which were famous for centuries. They promoted the study of art and literature and engaged in scientific research. When some of the great nations of to-day were yet in their infancy, Ireland had grown old in knowledge and learning. "The Irish," says Mr. Thomas J. Westropp, "had a fine school of art, music, and legendary literature, before the first-known missionaries reached their shores." Indeed, so great was our reputation for learning in Britain and on the Continent, that many foreign nobles sent their sons to Ireland to complete their education.

But all this was soon to change. The plundering Dane and the Norman freebooter almost put an end to the ancient culture of the Gael; while the confiscations and age-long persecution which followed in the wake of the English occupation, kept the nation in hopeless bondage and misery. And here we have a strange anomaly. The

Irish who were the pioneers in many branches of learning were themselves now denied the semblance of education. Celtic and European literature had been enriched by their labours, but the fountain-heads of their inspiration at home were now levelled with the ground. The schools, except those of the usurper, were banned; the churches were desecrated; a price was set on the head of the priest, and only the purple heather of the mountain, or the rocky hillside, made beautiful by nature, afforded him and his faithful flock an altar and a place of worship.

In those dark days of persecution there was much friendly intercourse between Ireland and Spain. The tradition of their common origin helped to strengthen the bond of religion which united the two peoples. Among Spaniards of every class there was intense sympathy with the Irish in their sufferings; and if the Irish envoys who sought assistance for their countrymen were not always successful, they were at least sympathetically received. When Elizabeth sought to annihilate the Irish nobles who upheld the Catholic faith, and to confiscate their estates, Spain, on at least two notable occasions, despatched military expeditions to their aid. But the Spaniards, like the French, were unfortunate in their choice of commanders. At Kinsale, in 1602, a more able leader than Don Juan d'Aguila might have turned defeat into victory. In Spain, Irish exiles found a ready welcome; Irish soldiers fought under her banner, and Irish sailors manned her ships. At the port of Corunna alone we find in 1638 no fewer than two thousand Irishmen on board the Spanish fleet under the command of Don Lope de Ozes. When the Irish schools and monasteries were destroyed, the bounty of the Catholic King provided seminaries at Salamanca, Seville, and elsewhere for the training of Irish priests and missionaries. Some of these institutions still flourish, reminding us of the ties which bound our country to Spain in ancient days when the hopes of her people were fixed upon the coming of a Spanish deliverer who would break their chains and free them from the galling

oppression of the English yoke. These hopes, which had been laid aside for centuries as vain, have at last been unexpectedly realised in the coming of Eamonn de Valera.

Eamonn de Valera was born in New York on the 14th October, 1882, the son of Vivian de Valera, a Spaniard by birth and nationality, and of Catherine Coll, of Bruree, Co. Limerick. His birth synchronised with the centenary of Grattan's Parliament. And had it not been for the perfidy of Pitt and Castlereagh, the year 1882 might have been a memorable one in the political history of Ireland. Corrupt though Grattan's Parliament undoubtedly was, Irish brains, unfettered and untrammelled, would no doubt have removed most of its imperfections and made it a model for other nations.

But what was the actual state of affairs in 1882? What was the condition of Ireland? What the sounds from without that disturbed de Valera in his peaceful cot? Was it the peal of the joybells celebrating the first centenary of Ireland's freedom? Michael Davitt supplies the answer. Fresh from Dartmoor, his voice resounded through the cities and hamlets of America from the Atlantic to the Pacific—in bitter denunciation of the British Government. His only tale was one of eviction and suffering. The memory of his eloquent pleadings, like the echoes of Mount Pilatus, long lingered amongst the hills and valleys of America. Meanwhile at home, Forster's Coercion Act was in full swing. Parnell, Dillon, Sexton, and Father Sheehy—later on to be de Valera's parish priest—had been thrown into prison. Thus the period of de Valera's birth witnessed the inception of a new movement for Irish liberty, which though limited in its scope and only partially successful, paved the way for the grand struggle for national independence, which under his leadership, we hope to see crowned with ultimate victory.

De Valera, as we have said, was born in New York. A few days after his birth he was baptised in St. Agnes's Church, and given the name Eamonn, which was one of long standing in his mother's family. From the outset

he was a healthy boy. While never showing a tendency to become fleshy he developed nevertheless a fairly full face, and this, coupled with a bright expression, gave him a very pleasing countenance. Nor was it his features alone that attracted attention. Long before he commenced to notice passing events, and while still a child, it is remarked that he had a soldierly gait and that he bore himself in a manner befitting a citizen of the great Republic. Born of Spanish-Irish parents he inherited the indomitable fighting spirit of both races. This characteristic was not very apparent in his early boyhood, but an incident which occurred shortly before his transfer to Ireland, and when he was not yet two and a half years of age, is significant. It is related that one day he toddled across the street to where a wealthy Englishman dwelt. We are not aware whether this Englishman was a professional gentleman or a large store-keeper, but at any rate he approached young de Valera and proffered him the choice of two flags. One was the Union Jack and the other had emblazoned upon it the Stars and Stripes. After a short pause de Valera accepted the American flag. "Come, now," said the Englishman in merry mood, "give me back that flag and take this one." "No, no," muttered de Valera, tightening his grasp of the one he had. "Well, then, you will take both," replied the Englishman, at the same time giving effect to the statement by sticking the Union Jack in the pocket of his tunic. He had no sooner done so, than young de Valera plucked it out, and throwing it on the ground, folded his arms, and faced his would-be benefactor with an air of stubborn independence. This was, perhaps, only a childish fancy, but it had the effect of arousing the innate patriotic feelings of an exiled Irishman who had been watching the incident from near by. Uttering such words as "maith an páiste," "maith an buachaill," "maith an fear," he rushed up and taking the little lad in his arms in a wild embrace hugged and kissed him as if he were a long lost child. The Irishman was an old Fenian. To him the

one flag stood for freedom and advancement ; the other for slavery and bondage. Memories of the past rushed in upon him. The strains of "La Marseillaise" may urge the brave chasseur to further deeds of bravery, or the sweet cadence of "La Brabançonne" may excite the joyful emotions of the Belgian, but as for the old Fenian, this victory of his little compatriot, the lesson it taught and the scenes it recalled, stirred his feelings to the highest pitch. What a pity there was not a John Lavery present. He would here have found a worthy scene for his canvas. The Englishman insulted and with stern gaze surveying the fallen Union Jack ; the youthful de Valera—the future leader of the Irish race—being embraced by the old Fenian with silvery locks ; the flag of Ireland's exiles being borne away in triumph ; the sky-scrapers ; the great wave of unemotional humanity passing to and fro, and Mrs. de Valera, with open arms awaiting the return of her son.

As already mentioned, de Valera's father was a native of Spain. In his youth he had lived in the rich Basque provinces south of the Pyrenees. He was bright and vivacious, and was very highly educated. Before turning his thoughts to America he had placed to his credit many honours in the higher schools of Spain. He was a master of several languages. His intellectual gifts were indeed remarkable and varied. An artist by profession, he could have attained equally high rank in any other sphere of human activity. He took up the study of music at an early age, and had death not intervened when he was not yet 32 years of age, he would certainly have become a prominent figure in the best musical circles. Already the proficiency and excellence of his execution had attracted attention in the new world. He had been making a study of Irish music, "but," said an old friend, "his rendering of the native Spanish airs was soul-stirring." While the mediocre "La Paloma" had not yet been written, he could imbue the outrageous "Tragala Perro" with sweetness, and make one forgetful of the revolutionary meaning of the "Hymn of Riego." Vivian de Valera had quite

a store of pleasant anecdotes about musical expeditions to his native hills of Spain. In Spain as in Switzerland and elsewhere on the Continent, the young men and women may be seen in the summer evenings wending their way to the hill-tops to pass the hours in music, dance and convivial conversation, just as our boys and girls sometimes do at the cross-roads.

Vivian de Valera was not content with a study of Irish music, for soon after his marriage he devoted some of his spare moments to the study of the Irish language. In the course of eight or ten months he became fairly proficient, and he allowed no day to pass without endeavouring to add a new word to his vocabulary. "It was amusing," says Mrs. de Valera, "to hear him trying to talk Irish." Visitors to the home of the de Valeras in New York were invariably received with a salutation in Irish, and the advent of a fluent speaker -they were numerous in New York—was always a pleasure. When Vivian was no longer able to continue the conversation in Irish, and when, after a struggle, he found himself compelled to employ another dialect, there would be general amusement in which he himself would join.

When Vivian de Valera bade farewell to Spanish soil and set sail for America, he saw his country settling down to permanent government for the first time in a century. While in the case of Ireland, external enemies, such as the Danes and the English, have been the root cause of her troubles, Spain suffered most from within. Vivian de Valera was proud of his country's history Often he would point out the fact that while internecine trouble kept the country in a state of unrest, the Spanish people, like the Irish, never tolerated the foreigner. Indeed, as regards opposition to the rule of the foreigner there was much in common between the two peoples. A glance at Spanish records will show that what Vivian de Valera saw in the light of history his son, Eamonn, was to face as a living problem. When Joseph Bonaparte tried to induce the Spanish people to take part in a convention

similar to that with which Lloyd George endeavoured to thwart Irish aspirations, and invited to Bayonne one hundred and fifty Spanish nobles, bishops, and other representative men for the purpose of framing a Constitution, not indeed out of love for Spain, but more firmly to establish his own authority, what was the attitude of the people themselves towards that Constitution? Strangely enough it might be stated in the words of an Englishman:

> "The Spanish people cared nothing for its merits or its defects. Had it been the best Constitution in the world, they would have rejected it. Everything connected with the invader was hideous in their eyes." "Moreover," continues the same author in a passage that might have emanated from Dail Eireann, "the people had started a Government after their own heart; three centuries of disuse had not completely atrophied the faculty for self-government once so developed in the cities and provinces."

While Bonaparte was deliberating how Spain should be governed, juntas, much like Sinn Fein clubs, were being appointed in the different districts to resist his encroachment. The popular and patriotic party declared war to the knife on the invader and the usurper, refused all compromise and called in the help of the English. With the aid of England, Spain became free. It is easy to understand the contrast and the moral.

Vivian de Valera held the Irish in great esteem. 'It is noteworthy," he would say, "that in my country the first staple government to last for the full term of five years was organised and controlled by that great Irish general, Count Henry O'Donnell." This famous general certainly played an important part in Spanish affairs, but like his contemporaries and rivals for political power, he reached the goal of his ambition through the battlefield. In command of the army at Cadiz in 1819, when a revolutionary spirit became manifest amongst the soldiers and leading officers, he was decorated by the King for

his promptitude and loyalty. Eight months later, however, he joined the revolutionary generals, an action which resulted in the re-establishment of the Constitution as promulgated by the Cortes of 1812. He fought against the Carlists in 1827, and had many an encounter with the troops under the personal command of the veteran leader, General Cabrera. Later he took up the cause of the Queen Regent. And quixotic as it may appear, he was again the leader of a revolution, and at the overthrow of Espartero in Madrid, became President. He had, however, the welfare of Spain at heart, and internally his regime brought peace and prosperity to Spain.

Vivian de Valera was a clever raconteur. That spirit of romance and of pathos which radiated from the events of Easter Week, was often to be found in his stories of Spanish life. He was not alive when the Gaelic League came into existence and set about recultivating the soul of Ireland. Had he lived to witness the new era, it is certain that it would have given an impetus to his study of the language and history of Ireland. He had a tolerable acquaintance with Irishmen of letters, but was not very well versed in the political and economic history of the country. In the locality where he resided in Spain there were a few families of Irish descent with whom he occasionally held unconventional discussions on the religious and political ties that bound the two countries together. These neighbours possessed many mementoes of Ireland—an old volume in manuscript, or an old sword handed down perhaps from the days of the "wild geese." The presence of these cherished souvenirs readily inspired chats on Ireland, and it was in this way that he gleaned much information.

In Vivian de Valera's own day there were few Irishmen of note resident on the Continent. The Irish Brigade had long since been disbanded or absorbed into other regiments, and there was no living witness of its past greatness. With the exception of a tardy and an obviously too limited recognition at the hands of continental writers,

the full story of its fame remained hidden away in Government archives until about the second half of the nineteenth century. If we wish, however, to fraternise for a few moments with the most distinguished of Ireland's sons on the Continent, we must go back to the days of Eamonn de Valera's grandfather, which will bring us into touch with the Irish Brigade and with a period which embraces one of the saddest yet finest epochs in our history.

De Valera's grandfather held high military rank in the Spanish army. He was a typical Spaniard, and on the maternal side descended from one of the noble houses of Spain. The victorious exploits of Irishmen, whether at Saragossa, Cremona, or Fontenoy, were well known to him. Were one to search the old Greek legends one could hardly find a finer feat of arms than that at Cremona, where thirty-five Irishmen defeated 1,450 Germans and Austrians—and this number contained 800 Cuirassiers. In the same battle an Irish officer named MacDonnell fighting on the opposite side, captured single-handed the Marshal de Villeroy, Commander of the French and Spanish troops. The biassed historian may distort, but he could not overlook such deeds as these; and when de Valera's grandfather, in the vigour of his youth, read of them, we can well imagine his admiration for Ireland. Yet, when we come to follow Irishmen over the Continent and weigh in the balance their achievements for other nations we are tempted to enquire how, exactly, Ireland has been rewarded for her services. A glance across the Continent, from Spain to Russia, will show that the account has not yet been fully settled. Here in many a hard-fought field, Irishmen turned apparent defeat into victory, Irish genius set up staple governments, and Irish commonsense guided their destinies. Perhaps a little digression may be pardoned in order to record here the names of a few of the men who accomplished these things and who were so closely associated with the Continent from which De Valera sprang. A complete list of the Irishmen, who as exiles reached high rank and became

famous on the Continent would occupy a volume in itself. Of the officers mentioned here some fought under different flags, and perhaps patriotism, as it affected Ireland, was not equally intense in all.

SERVED UNDER THE SPANISH FLAG.

General Wall, Prime Minister of Spain.
Lt.-General Henry D. O'Donnell (already referred to), Prime Minister of Spain.
Field-Marshal Count O'Reilly.
Lt.-General D. O'Mahony (of Cremona fame).
David Sarsfield, 5th Lord Kilmallock (killed at Villviciosa).
Major-General Cusack.
Lt-General Crofton.
General Sarsfield (killed in mutiny at Pamplona).
Lt.-General Lawless, Spanish Ambassador to England (and subsequently to France).
Ambrose O'Higgins, Spanish Captain-General to Chili.
(Bernard O'Higgins was President of the first Republic of Chili.)
Count O'Mahony (Spanish Ambassador to the Court of Vienna).
Major-General Bourke.
Captain Daniel O'Carroll (who with 100 Irish Dragoons defeated over 1,000 of the enemy at the Castle of Seron).

SERVED UNDER THE FRENCH FLAG.

Marshal MacMahon (saved France and became President).
Lt.-General Count Arthur Dillon, of the Irish Brigade.
Major-General Patrick Sarsfield.
Count Daniel O'Connell, Inspector-General of Infantry.
Major-General Theobald Dillon.
Lt.-General Nugent.
Lord Clare, Marshal of France.
General Farrell.

Lt.-General Lee.
Brigadier-General Stapleton.
Major-General Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, French Ambassador to Prussia.
Major-General Cooke.
Brigadier-General M. Rothe.
Brigadier-General O'Gara.
General Justin McCarthy.
Lt.-General Count Lally.
Major-General O'Shaughnessy.
Major-General Creagh.
Major-General D'Arcy.
Lt.-General Galmoy.

Served under the Austrian Flag.

Field-Marshal De Lacy.
Field-Marshal Viscount Taaffe.
Field-Marshal O'Donnell.
Field-Marshal Brady.
Field-Marshal Count Browne.
Field-Marshal Nugent.
Major-General Dwyer.
Lt.-General O'Connor.
General Maguire.
Lt.-General O'Kelly.
Brigadier-General Plunkett.
General MacElligot.

Served under the Russian Flag.

Field-Marshal Count Peter Lacy (of Bruree and Ballingarry), who organised the whole Russian army and added the Crimea and a part of Finland to the Empire. In the former place he defeated the Turks, who, but a short time previously had badly beaten his predecessor, a Field-Marshal of Russian origin.

Field-Marshal Count Browne.
General Count O'Rourke.
Admiral O'Dwyer.

It is said that at one time there were no less than thirty generals of Irish birth in the Austrian service.

The reader will now be able to form a fair idea of the extent to which even the most powerful Continental nations are indebted to Ireland.

It is a well-known fact, and a regrettable one, that from those foreign histories written by Englishmen, the name and the fame of Ireland has been carefully omitted. For a long time past, England has undertaken the compilation of "impartial" histories of foreign countries and in these she has persistently, but not obtrusively, shown herself to advantage. In one of these we find bare mention of Juan de Valera, who was looked upon as one of the ablest and most erudite critics of his time. "A history with the imprint of impartial," says Professor Eoin MacNeill, "is a danger to the unwary," and when one is found, the advice of this distinguished scholar is "burn it." When speaking thus, he had, no doubt, English historians in mind. Conjointly with other nations, Ireland demands only her due space in the annals of the world, and had her historians long ago undertaken a history of say, Spain for the Spanish, or of America for the Americans, giving Ireland therein the part merited by her, much good would have accrued to the country.

Eamonn de Valera's mother, whose maiden name was Catherine Coll, came from Bruree in the county of Limerick. In her native district, she was highly respected, and there were many manifestations of sorrow when she left for America in October, 1879. She travelled a good deal in the United States, and spent some time in Florida. Like her husband, she was highly educated, a fact which added immensely to the interest and pleasure of travelling. In her young days she was a fine type of womanhood, and those who knew her then as Miss Coll, say that when

EAMONN DE VALERA'S MOTHER.

she left Brurce her absence created a gap amongst the pretty colleens not easily filled. The Colls* appear to be of Norse origin. "Kollr" appears frequently in the Landnámabók, and as "Coll" and "Col" among the Anglo Saxons. "Colle" was the name of a landowner in the time of Edward the Confessor, and "Collo" that of an under-tenant in the time of the Domesday Survey. The name is on record in Ireland since the end of the 14th century, and is still associated with the district around Kilmallock where the family is one of long standing respectability. Historical references to the Colls are few, but there was evidently a rebel of the name in the time of Elizabeth, for we find among the general pardons recorded in the Fiants of Elizabeth that on May 26th, 1598, a pardon was granted to Thomas Coll of Kilmallock, husbandman. Although the name is rare in England, it is of peculiar interest to note that out of eleven members who attended the first meeting of an essay society, founded by W. E. Gladstone, early in his career, two bore the name of Coll. Perhaps one of the most noted members of the family with whom de Valera's mother and uncles claim kinship, was the Very Rev. Thomas Coll, Dean of Limerick, who was appointed parish priest of Newcastle West on the 14th January, 1827. Placing the records of both men side by side, we can easily recognise a drop of the same blood in the veins of Eamonn de Valera. For this purpose we will here give an abbreviated transcript from a tablet erected to the Dean's memory:

> "This tablet is inscribed to the memory of the Very Rev. Thomas Coll, Dean and V.G. No priest for a century won wider fame or richer estimation in Ireland than the Very Rev. Dean Coll. He was held in honour far and near as a watchful shepherd of the flock, an unwearied labourer in the vineyard, and a pious, learned, and munificently charitable priest.

*See "Sloinnte Gaedheal is Gall"—Irish names and surnames—by the Rev. P. Woulfe.

> He was distinguished as the bosom friend of O'Connell and one of his most active supporters in the long struggle for Catholic freedom, and in the public meetings of that period as an orator of the very highest order. But he was specially famed for pulpit eloquence of unrivalled originality, pathos and power. There was indeed in him so happy and rare a union of the gifts of nature and grace of enlightenment, taste, and talent with apostolic zeal, wisdom and holiness of life as constituted him one of the most eminent ecclesiastics of his time."

The biography of Eamonn de Valera carries us away to Spain and America where we are brought into contact with men of our own race who fought and died, or lived and prospered in these two countries. Between the Spaniards and the Irish there has always been a tradition of kinship. According to the Irish bards it was "on a clear winter night that Ireland was first seen from Spain," and from Spain it was that Ireland was first colonised. "Possibly," says Mrs. Alice Stopford Green, "the belief in their Spanish descent sprang like so many Irish origins from a literary soil." Anyhow, the tradition was there, and it helped to cement the friendship of the two peoples.

On the other hand, we can claim to have laid the foundation of much that is great in American life. It is now practically an established fact that half of Washington's army was Irish, and in the words of Cardinal Gibbons: "there is to-day scarcely an American hamlet in which the blood of the Milesian is not represented." Many of America's leading statesmen, great financiers, and wealthy merchants, can point to the driving force of their Irish blood as the secret of their success. Even President Wilson occasionally referred with pride to his Irish ancestry. Henry Morgenthau, American Ambassador at Constantinople, speaking of the President, and drawing attention to his Scottish blood as indicating caution, continues: "but he has also the fire and combativeness of the Irish: let him once set his jaws, and it takes a crowbar to open

them again." This is a good interpretation of the Celtic temperament. For over 700 years the English have been endeavouring to compel the Irish to accept their rule, but the Irish jaw in which de Valera to-day forms a tooth, has been set against it, and the English crowbar has been used in vain. If America can claim to have given us de Valera as our leader, we can show, on the other hand, that we are entitled to any consideration of this kind that she may bestow on us. Apart from their bravery on the battlefield and their skill in industrial life, we have ample evidence that Irish emigrants were in many respects pioneers of civilisation in the States. For instance, the first settlement known to have taken place in the State of Maine was of two families named Kelly and Halley from Galway, who arrived in the year 1653; and the first man to settle in President Wilson's native Shenandoah Valley was John Lewis from Co. Donegal. We also have it on record that the first man to visit the white mountains in New Hampshire was Darby Field, an Irishman, who went there in 1634, and a trader named Doherty had the honour of being the first white man to penetrate the wilderness of Kentucky. The first grave of a white man in what is now the State of New York was that of an Irishman. When Hendrick Hudson went up the Hudson River in 1609, he sent some men ashore to fight the aborigines, and John Coleman, an Irish sailor, was killed and buried there. The first lighthouse on the Atlantic coast off the mouth of the Savannah river was erected by Cornelius MacCarthy.

Since the birth of Eamonn de Valera in America has induced us to discuss Irish-American relations, we might quote a few more instances in which Irishmen were pioneers. Whenever Irishmen got the opportunity they generally distinguished themselves at sea, as well as on land, so there is nothing surprising in the fact that the first naval battle in the war of the American Revolution was fought and won by the five sons of Maurice O'Brien, of Cork, and that the last naval battle was fought and won by Captain

John Barry, of Wexford. Later, in 1812, the first and only naval battle in inland waters, was fought and won by Thomas MacDonough—a name for other reasons now familiar to Irishmen. Even in the domain of politics and administration, Irishmen were in the very forefront. Ireland has had the honour of having seen seven of her sons members of the first Continental Congress of Americans, and in the Congress which began the United States Government, Pennsylvania was represented by Thomas Fitzsimons, of Limerick. The first Governor of Illinois was John Boyle; the first Governor of the State of Massachusetts was James O'Sullivan, the first Governor of Kansas was James Denver, and the first Governor of Delaware was John McKinley—all Irishmen. Then, after the revolution, we have as first Mayor of the City of New York James Dwane, of Cong, Co. Mayo. In many districts the first Judges and the first Chief Justices appointed were Irishmen. Long before the revolution there were upwards of one thousand Irish school teachers scattered throughout America, and not alone were they the first tutors to such men as John Hancock, Daniel Webster, John Dickinson, R. B. Taney, etc., but they were the first to start schools in such places as Cincinnati, Pennsylvania, and districts further west. Master of languages as de Valera's father was, he would have met his match in a schoolmaster named John O'Sullivan, of Limerick, who, when applying to the town of Berwick, Maine, in 1723, for the position of tutor, wrote his application in seven languages.

Irishmen were not content with having educated leading statesmen, chief justices of the Supreme Court, or great jurists. They were the first in a general sense to undertake the task of enlightening public opinion, for we find that the first daily newspaper started in America was published by John Dunlop, Co. Tyrone. In New York and in Boston, the first daily newspapers were established by Irishmen—John D. Bourke having established the "Arena" in the latter city. We could still further show that Henry O'Reilly, of Carrickmacross, was the first

to build a telegraph line in the United States: that J. P. Holland, of Clare, was the first to build a submarine, and that Dr. O'Kane, whose grandfather left Ireland in 1752, was the first American Antarctic explorer. We might quote a thousand such names and not exhaust the roll of honour. The list is sufficiently extended to show that though America may claim to have nursed for us a great National leader in Eamonn de Valera, we on the other hand can claim to have taken a big part in making America what she is to-day, whether we view her from a social, political, or military point of view, one of the greatest Nations of the earth.

NOTE.—The author is indebted to Mr. Michael J. O'Brien, for information, regarding "Irish firsts in America," derived from his Lecture delivered before the members of the American Irish Historical Society at New York.

CHAPTER II.

ARLY in the year 1884, Eamonn de Valera's father became seriously ill, and towards the end of the year he passed peacefully away, leaving Mrs. de Valera and her little boy, Eamonn, to mourn their loss. Anyone who has experienced the grief and anxiety occasioned by the loss of the head of the household, will readily understand what it meant to be deprived of the breadwinner in a large and busy city like New York. Such was the position in which Mrs. de Valera now found herself. While in fairly comfortable circumstances, she was by no means rich, and it was evident that the question of providing for herself and her little boy in the future would soon arise. Being a woman of talent and ability she had no difficulty in finding a suitable occupation, but the disturbing feature was: who would nurse Eamonn during her absence? One day, however, as she was revolving the question in her mind a communication arrived from her brother, Edmund, who was a gentleman's steward in Connecticut, to the effect that he was about to proceed to Ireland. He had contracted malarial fever, and his physician ordered a trip to Ireland as the best cure. The thought that she would send Eamonn over to Ireland with her brother at once occurred to Mrs. de Valera. Her mother, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Carroll, was still living in the old home at Knockmore, Bruree, where her brother, Patrick, kept the natal hearth warm. She notified her intentions immediately to Edmund and Patrick, and both brothers having approved of her plans, arrangements were accordingly made for Eamonn's

EDMUND COLL WITH WIFE AND FAMILY.

transfer to Ireland. It was indeed with great reluctance that she parted with her child and sent him to Ireland with his uncle.

Edmund Coll was a man of powerful physique, standing well over six feet in height. His family consisted of seven girls and three boys. Two of the boys fought with the Americans in France. The third was already on the Continent when the war broke out, having gone to Louvain to study for the priesthood; but when this great seat of learning was sacked by the Germans, he was lucky enough to be away on a holiday in Switzerland. Little the uncle thought when crossing the broad Atlantic that one day his tiny charge would stand to arms in the cause of liberty—for small nations—and for so doing be thus addressed by the mighty British Empire: "The sentence of this court-martial is that you shall be shot at 6 a.m. on to-morrow morning."

Some time after Edmund Coll's return to America, Mrs. de Valera went to live in Rochester, a city which she subsequently adopted as her permanent place of abode. At the end of seven or eight years she re-married and had by this union two children—a boy and a girl. Both were handsome children, and bore a marked resemblance to their mother. As the little girl grew older she developed a delicacy of feeling and a refinement not usually met with in a child of her age. George Elliot may have created for "Hetty Sorrell" a certain amount of human loveliness, but nothing can surpass the sweetness of expression, the grace and charm, with which God sometimes endows children of tender years whom He decides on taking to Himself before their innocence is tarnished by contact with a wicked world. These were the impressions left on one by Eamonn de Valera's sister, when, at the early age of ten years, she departed this life. On Mrs. de Valera's re-marriage she became Mrs. Wheelright, and as there was only one child by the first union, the death of the little girl left her now with two sons only, Eamonn de Valera and Thomas Wheelright. In his early schooldays young

Wheelright displayed marked ability. He experienced little difficulty in passing from the elementary to the higher schools. All through his school courses he worked assiduously with one object in view, to become a member of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, better known as the Redemptorists.

The two greatest causes for which man can work are the love of God and the love of country. The soul that sighs alternately under the influence of these two loves is a soul pure at its foundation. When Mrs. de Valera therefore sent forth two sons to labour she had the happiness to see one espouse the cause of Freedom in her native land, while the other prepared to consecrate his life to the service of God in religion. And although the two ostensibly devoted their lives to different objects, the spirit of the one was in the other. Just one month from the date on which Eamonn de Valera's sentence of death was commuted to one of penal servitude for life his step-brother was ordained a priest in the United States of America. Father Wheelright, C.SS.R., is now stationed at Roxboro, Mass, where the community has a very fine house. The Redemptorist Order, which was founded by St. Alphonsus Maria Liguori, in 1732, had no permanent house in America until the year 1841, when one was opened at Rochester, where the Wheelrights now live. While houses are now established in all the big cities of America, Eamonn de Valera's mother can point to the fact that her native Limerick is celebrated all the world over for its confraternity, conducted by the Redemptorists. "The miracle wrought by the Mother of Perpetual Succour," were the terms in which Dr. Butler, Bishop of Limerick, referred to this wonderful confraternity, which was founded by Father Bridgett, C.SS.R., nearly sixty years ago. In political circles much is known about the circumstances in which Carroll of Carrollton signed the famous Declaration of American Independence, but it is not generally known that those who succeeded him were, perhaps, the Redemptorists' greatest benefactors, the heirs of the Carrolls

THOMAS WHEELRIGHT.

of Carrolton having left their entire estate to the Redemptorist Fathers. While Irishmen, therefore, have selected Eamonn de Valera to guide their political destinies, Irishmen, too, have taken a noble part in forwarding the work of the Redemptorist Order of which his step-brother —Father Wheelright—is a distinguished member.

On the 20th April, 1885, Edmund Coll arrived at Bruree with his precious charge. Eamonn de Valera was then handed over to the care of his uncle—Patrick Coll—who from that date took such a glorious part in forming the character and guiding the destinies of a soul that required but little guidance. It is recalled that as the ship which conveyed Edmund Coll and Eamonn de Valera approached Cove those on board hummed gleefully the following lines by Locke :—

T'anam o'n diabhal, ach ! But there it is—
The dawn on the hills of Ireland ;
God's angels lifting the night's black veil
From the fair, sweet face of my sireland.

How rophetic these lines appear if read in the light of current events ! The coming of Eamonn de Valera certainly signified *the dawn* of a new era in the history of Ireland. And then the line "God's angels lifting the night's black veil," seems equally appropriate ; for did not that little lad who was present on deck at the humming of the song take a noble part in lifting the "dark veil" that had hung over Ireland for close on seven and a-half centuries ?

The song went on :—

"Oh, Ireland, isn't it grand you look,
Like a bride in her rich adorning,
With all the pent up love of my heart
I bid you the top of the morning."

We may well imagine the joy of all on board as the ship drew into harbour, and if Eamonn de Valera -not yet three years of age - was unable to give articulate expression to the words of Locke's beautiful poem, it is certain

that the sentiments contained in the words quoted found a response somewhere in a corner of his heart as he saw for the first time and saluted Ireland—that Ireland for which he was later prepared to offer up his life.

After a stay of some months in Ireland, Edmund Coll returned to America. His health had much improved as a result of his visit, and he returned a new man to his former occupation. In due course Eamonn de Valera was sent to Bruree national school, and while he could not be described as a precocious boy, nevertheless, from the very outset he displayed remarkable qualities both as regards intellectual power and perseverance in study. His first schoolmaster was John Kelly, a grand old man, who lived at Killacolla, about 5 miles from Bruree. He was a first-class teacher, intellectual, painstaking, and extremely devout. His zeal for the welfare of the children could hardly be surpassed. He was not satisfied with a course of training which was mechanically arranged to fit a child for a given position in life, just as a horse is trained for the Derby. He had also the child's moral and religious welfare especially at heart. The worldly outlook and the religious outlook were blended to such a degree of nicety in his teaching that the children brought up under his care could be recognised by an individuality of their own. The spirit of prayer permeated the schoolroom. Frequently the boys were treated to a lecture on the value of a good education. Addressing de Valera one day at the head of a class, he said, "You and all good boys like you will one day have a bicycle and a grand watch and chain." The rod placed menacingly near the schoolmaster may serve a very useful purpose, but its presence rarely conduces to that sense of freedom and love of advancement which is likely to be obtained by good advice when wisely administered.

When de Valera was first sent to school he was dressed in a beautiful suit of velvet, which gave him a smart and bright appearance. On entering the schoolroom he was asked his name, and replied "de Valera"; but the

schoolmaster could not get nearer to it than "Develeragh." The name was repeated again and again, but with no better result. Before recording the name in the roll-book he called on a young lad named Thomas Mortell, a neighbour of de Valera's, to spell the name, which he did, and thus the first little difficulty on entering school was surmounted.

After two or three years at school, de Valera commenced to show signs of great promise. A contemporary student states that when he had mastered the subjects proper to his own class, he would penetrate into the higher classes in order to obtain information on the subjects studied there. There was not a subject taught which he had not a desire to become acquainted with. From an early date he excelled in mathematics, and for some time before he quitted the national school he was employed teaching this subject to boys even in the higher grades. From the age of twelve onwards he became still more studious. In the evenings he might be seen sitting on the roadside reading a book. When taking his meals the book was sure to be before him on the table. His uncle states that he had a special predeliction for books on adventure. He read much about Napoleon, but he seemed to have taken a special delight in reading about the Scottish Chiefs, taking particular interest in Wallace. In this respect his boyhood taste had a strange similarity to that of the late William E. Gladstone, in whose memoirs we read: "I think it was about the same time that Miss Porter's Scottish Chiefs, and especially the life and death of Wallace, used to make me weep profusely." The Three Musketeers, by Alexander Dumas, was a great favourite of his, so much so that he could repeat a whole chapter of its contents without error or hesitation. He had extraordinary powers of retention, so far as prose writings which pleased him, were concerned. Another book from which he derived much pleasure was "The Life of Patrick Sarsfield." Having a great aptitude for composition and essay writing he frequently wrote excellent essays on the

books he had read. Extracts from these would, no doubt, make interesting reading now, but unfortunately none of them has been preserved. A fellow-student who perused an essay of his on Sarsfield, remembers having read a fiery passage from it aloud, with the result that other boys took it up and for days afterwards they could be seen at the crossroads or on the top of a fence, posing in a dramatic manner and giving forth the words with all the elocutionary powers of which they were capable. His reading probably found its first reflection in amateur theatricals. Here he usually sought the part of an officer with girdle and sword, or of a character in which a representation of heroic deeds was required.

A singular feature of de Valera's youthful mentality was the zest with which he attended special sermons in the local church. The oratorical powers of the preachers, no less than the subject matter of the sermons, greatly interested him. It was the practice in Bruree to have a special sermon on the feast of St. Munchin, the patron saint of the parish. Young de Valera was sure to be present on such occasions, and immediately the sermon was over he would discuss what he had heard with his companions. From what he had heard in a single sermon about the life and times of St. Munchin, he would argue, debate and cross-examine with a precision of which many educated persons, even of mature age, would be incapable.

One day a profesional man, while in conversation with a friend in Bruree, noticed a young lad playing close by, and being struck by his smart and intelligent appearance, asked who he was. On being told that his name was de Valera he expressed surprise, and wished to know more about the lad with such a strange name. de Valera was called over and plied with question after question. He answered with such promptitude and characteristic skill that the questioner declared him to be as smart a lad as he had ever met in his collegiate or professional career.

Most people take some interest in games and athletics,

but in this respect de Valera was an enthusiast. When not engrossed in a book he was found wielding a *caman*, playing football, or testing his capabilities at the hundred yards mark. There was no middle course, and no idle moment. The late Father Eugene Sheehy, P.P., took a keen interest in the Bruree hurlers, and accompanied them on many a memorable day to the venue where conclusions were tried with the boys from a neighbouring village or parish. In these encounters the Bruree team nearly always came out victorious, and the return of the wagonettes at night was invariably heralded by cheers from the youths collected at the cross, which were replied to by those in the cars. Amongst those would be found de Valera, cheering more wildly and loudly than any. Those were glorious days in Bruree.

His uncle relates how de Valera often returned home without the household messages for which he had been sent to the village. It might be that on his way back some of the hurlers would have met for practice and through sheer enthusiasm for the game he would join them, placing his messages on the road fence. Oblivious of what was happening around him he would hurl away for perhaps half an hour or more, only to find that the household messages had meanwhile disappeared. The messages were, of course, taken as a practical joke, and after a while found their way to their proper destination, but not before de Valera had been put through the ordeal of giving an explanation. Yet a month later he would do the very same again. The smaller games peculiar to school children had no fascination for him. At this time he often took milk to the creamery for his uncle, and while waiting his turn in the queue of factory cars would read a book, remaining deaf to all invitations to participate in a game of pitch and toss. He could, however, amuse himself in other ways. He had, for instance, a hobby which took the form of digging for springs. In the long summer's evenings after school hours, he and a companion often spent hours at this work. It would seem a peculiar

method of enjoyment, and indeed an unprofitable one. It is said that Father Mathew, who in his youth was somewhat of an engineer, had similar designs, and that he could not see a rill of water running to waste, without considering how it might best be turned to advantage for the use of man. No such good purpose is ascribed to de Valera's incessant search for deep springs; still it is difficult to think that he did anything to which a meaning was not attached, and perhaps, in these operations he found a more soothing relaxation from serious study than might be derived from ordinary forms of amusement. In this connection his ingenuity displayed itself in a manner worth recording. It appears that when he would arrive at the field of operations his companion might not have arrived and *vice versa*. In order to obviate the delay thus occasioned de Valera constructed, from the various materials available, something in the shape of a bell which he affixed on the top of a hawthorn tree. To this he attached a piece of string. The first to arrive would pull the string and the loud metallic sound of the time-saving apparatus resounded through the ether, a reminder to the absent youth that operations had commenced. Evidence is not forthcoming as to whether the ringing of this bell annoyed the neighbours. But if the disturbing of one's neighbours is a matter worthy of being taken into account, distinguished precedents are on record to show that this has not always been so. We can quote Mr. Lloyd George, de Valera's great adversary, who, in his boyhood days, often organised gangs of youths armed with tin pots and pans, whom he marched through his native village in Wales, creating a noise the intensity of which no bell could equal.

At about the age of 13 de Valera's superior talent began to attract attention. At this time Mr. Garrett Hayes, brother of Dr. Hayes, T.D. for East Limerick, had replaced Mr. John Kelly as schoolmaster. He was so much impressed by de Valera's outstanding ability that he consulted Father Liston, then C.C., Bruree, with a view to

bringing the lad's intellectual capacity to the notice of his uncle—Mr. Patrick Coll. In due course Mr. Coll was approached, and, to his everlasting credit, agreed to send his nephew forward to a higher school. Mr. Coll's action in this respect was all the more commendable when we remember that he was possessed of only limited means. He was glad to hear such good news of his nephew, and though his purse was slender—a complaint not uncommon in the history of many erudite and distinguished people—yet he had sufficient money saved to draw upon for de Valera's education, and he willingly drew upon it for this purpose.

Providence could hardly have entrusted de Valera to the care of a more amiable and ingenuous man than Patrick Coll. He stands 6 feet 4 inches in height, is dignified, graceful, and possessed of an intellectual power that if properly cultivated would have left a mark on Irish history. He served as a member of the Kilmallock Board of Guardians for three successive terms, or nine years in all, and is well known in political circles in Limerick and other parts of Munster. He took an active part in the Labour Movement, delivering addresses at many meetings promoted under its auspices. Up to the rising in 1916 he was politically on the side of Mr. William O'Brien. Mr. Coll states that politics were anathema to de Valera in his young days. Neighbours often dropped in to Mr. Coll for a chat, and it not infrequently happened that a lively discussion arose on the respective merits of the various political leaders of the time. de Valera would read a book during these discussions. Whenever an appeal was made to him on any particular point, he would reply with reluctance, and then, like Athos, only when asked twice. Yet while he refrained from joining in these political arguments, it may be assumed that, at this receptive age he imbibed much information from what he heard going on around him. When de Valera was still a child Patrick Coll married, his wife's maiden name being Catherine Dillon. There were three children of this marriage—one boy named Patrick, and two girls, Elizabeth

and Mary. As they all grew up together, de Valera having the advantage in years, they made a very happy family. A harsh expression was hardly ever heard within the portals of that house. There was no welcome for people who habitually drag coarse language into their conversations, and such people never found sanctuary there.

Bruree, the scene of De Valera's boyhood days, is a place of much historical interest. Brugh signifies a palace or distinguished residence. This term was applied to many Royal residences in Ireland, and Bruree is a characteristic example. Its proper name, as found in many Irish authorities, is Brugh Righ, the fort or palace of the King; for it was the principal seat of Oilioll Olum, King of Munster, in the second century, and afterwards of the O'Donovans, Chiefs of Hy Carbery, *i.e.*, of the level country around Bruree. In the Book of Rights it is mentioned first in the list of seats of the King of Cashel, and there are still remaining extensive earthen forts, the ruins of the ancient Brugh. These forts, of such antiquarian interest, had a great attraction for de Valera. After a hard day's work at school, and later when home on holidays from college, he spent his spare moments hunting and shooting around these historic places. He knew their history and could discuss with ease anything from the supposed origin of the most isolated fort to the traditional story of how O'Donovan's daughter threw two of her father's officers from the top window of the castle into the river below.

Mr. Coll lost no time in making the necessary arrangements for de Valera's transfer to Charleville—now Rathluire. Apart from the accounts the schoolmaster had brought him, his own observations from day to day caused him to look upon his nephew as a lad of clear mind and understanding. Those who knew him well as he grew up say that he was a very pious boy, and this coupled with the intelligence and oratorical powers displayed in manhood, would indicate that had he embraced the ecclesiastical state, as was not unlikely at one time, he would have become one of the most distinguished ornaments of the Church. Though somewhat reserved in the presence

of strangers he was very communicative in the company of those with whom he had a better acquaintance, a trait of which Mr. Coll showed his appreciation by taking him occasionally for a walk after school hours. Their course usually lay along the banks of the Maigue—that beautiful little stream made historic by Aubrey de Vere—and as he assisted de Valera over the fences and through the whitethorn hedges which flourish in great luxuriance in those parts, Mr. Coll would have to answer innumerable questions. The information sought for on such occasions was indeed varied and complex. The verdant fields studded here and there with sheep; the cattle browsing in the rich pasture; the blackberry bushes; the fluttering of the birds; the swift and sudden movement of the minnows—all these called forth a constant stream of questions. One day he asked: "Why does that river not run straight?" and Mr. Coll looked puzzled for a moment. Yet he explained the matter in a fitting manner, for he understood that it would be unwise to turn down abruptly questions put by an intelligent youth. The excellent opinions which Mr. Coll had formed of his nephew, together with the favourable school report, induced him to expedite the arrangements he had on hand, and everything being ready, de Valera entered the Christian Brothers' School at Rathluirc, on the 2nd November, 1896.

The distance from Knockmore to Rathluirc is about 6 miles, and as there was a convenient train available in the mornings he usually travelled by that means, returning home at night by road, sometimes on foot, and sometimes in the company of fellow-students from the neighbourhood of Bruree, who had their own conveyances. The return train was not due to leave Rathluirc for three hours after school had finished, and such a long wait was intolerable for a boy who felt that he required all the time at his disposal for his educational and sportive pursuits. Hence he frequently walked the journey homewards, and he very often had his evening exercises completed by the time the train, which passed within a few hundred yards of his house, arrived on its way to Limerick. It is related,

that on one occasion when walking home he came upon two national school boys who were belabouring one another in a lonely part of the road, and there being no seconds present, it looked as if the fight would not end until one of the two became *hors de combat*. As is usual with schoolboys, they were fighting over some trivial affair. de Valera separated the combatants, ascertained the cause of the trouble, adjudicated, and then sent both boys home pleased. One of these, who has since become a distinguished clergyman, expressed his deep gratitude to de Valera for his timely intervention, having perhaps, by that time good reason for thinking how much easier it is to enter into a quarrel than to get out of it.

De Valera appears to have worked very hard during his term at the Christian Brothers' School, for he was not long there when he secured a scholarship value for £60. In this respect he appears to have borne in mind Voltaire's dictum that "waste of time is the most fatal kind of extravagance of which one can be guilty." Brother R. J. Prenderville was Superior at the time, and from the very beginning was pleased with his student, as he well might be, for de Valera was punctual, diligent and attentive to his work; qualities usually appreciated by teachers. It is said that the same qualities were apparent in Archbishop Mannix, who was educated at the same school, and who later on became de Valera's most faithful friend and supporter in the battle for Irish freedom.

After leaving Rathluirc de Valera went direct to Blackrock College, Dublin, and not to Mungret College, Limerick, as a copy of the register would indicate.*

*COPY OF REGISTER, CHRISTIAN BROS.' SCHOOL, CHARLEVILLE.

No.	Date	Pupil's Name	Birth	Residence	Occupation of parent or guardian	Date of leaving	Remark
343	2/11/96	Edward de Valera	1882	Bruree	Farmer	August 1898	Went to Mungret

It would seem, however, that he had intended becoming a student at Mungret, for application was made to that college on his behalf. At Blackrock College he read a most brilliant Intermediate and University course, taking exhibitions all along the line. Here is the story of his College career as it was told by the Rev. N. J. Brennan, B.A., C.S.Sp., President of the College :—

> "Mr. de Valera read a brilliant Intermediate and University course, and led at several public examinations one of the most successful classes that ever passed through the College. His University record was particularly creditable, when it is borne in mind that it was made while he was engaged for some hours daily as junior master in the Intermediate College.
>
> So marked was his success in this department that he was soon entrusted with the higher classes, and on the Professorship of Mathematics and Physics becoming vacant in Rockwell he was immediately appointed. He had charge of the Honours Senior Grade and the Honours University classes in Mathematics and Physics. One of his pupils got first Mathematical exhibition in the senior grade. Several got honours and all were remarkably successful."
>
> On leaving Rockwell he was appointed Professor of Mathematics in the Training College, Carysfort, where his work was characterised by the same energy, zeal, ability and success which marked it in Rockwell. As a lecturer on the Mathematical Honour courses of the R.U.I. he was very much sought after, and it was noteworthy that for a number of years several of the candidates who obtained outstanding distinctions in the University examinations were his pupils. He was devoted to learning and was extremely popular both in the classroom and the athletic field."

De Valera graduated at the Royal University while holding a scholarship in Mathematical Science. After

obtaining his degree he taught at University College, Stephen's Green, where he read for the M.A. degree, attending lectures in Mathematics and Mathematical Physics. The duties connected with his official position at the Training College, Carysfort, finally necessitated, however, the postponement of his M.A. examination. This was much to be regretted, for Professor A. W. Conway, under whom he studied, stated that he was well up to M.A. standard in these subjects, his mathematical abilities being of a very high order. Professor Conway was indeed much impressed by his great brilliancy and originality.

During the session 1909-1910, he attended M.A. lectures in philosophy at University College. Here in the course of his study of Higher Mathematics he had become interested in the metaphysical aspect and treatment of certain mathematical conceptions, so that his attendance was primarily in the pursuit of his own distinctive researches. He also attended M.A. lectures in Geometry and modern analysis given by Prof. MacWeeny, who like all those with whom he came in contact, described him as an able student and an energetic worker. We have seen how when a little boy at the national school, Bruree, he used to penetrate into the higher classes in order to become acquainted with the subjects taught there. Similarly, after having obtained his degree in 1904, he endeavoured to extend his knowledge in all matters appertaining to education. Thus he studied several branches of Mathematical and Physical Science under the guidance of Professors Conway and MacWeeny; he studied the metaphysical side of the principles of Mathematics with Professor Magennis; and he took courses in the theoretical and philosophical side of education with Professor T. Corcoran, S.J. Then again he attended courses in Irish and the "direct method" of teaching it at the Leinster College of Irish. At University College he at the same time went deeply into the subject of Quaternions, prosecuting important original research in them which proved to be of considerable interest. Apart from the deep know-

ledge of the languages—Latin, Greek, French, etc., —which he acquired, the fact that he took several courses of lectures in Spectroscopy, Astro-physics and Electro-optics, with Professor Edmund Whittaker, Sc.D.F.R.S., Royal Astronomer of Ireland, will go to show the wide range of his subjects. It is said that the Astronomer Royal was much impressed with the intellectual vigour with which he interested himself in the most difficult problems of Natural Philosophy.

De Valera is a B.A. and a B.Sc., R.U.I., but Professor William Magennis tells us that his many and varied attainments were not adequately represented by his academic distinctions. He displayed energy and ability in every sphere of life upon which he entered not merely as a student and a teacher, but, as we shall see in a later chapter, as a fighter and politician.

Besides the scholarship de Valera won six exhibitions in his Intermediate and University course with aggregate marks, getting sixth highest in Arts 1. He got second place in Mathematics in Arts 2. His superiority in Mathematics recalls some of Ireland's leaders in the past, particularly Robert Emmet, whose talents lay in the same direction. Emmet entered Trinity College at the age of 16, and at once showed great aptitude for this subject, eclipsing many students of more mature years and longer standing at the college. If we view Emmet and de Valera on the same pedestal a strange likeness presents itself. In scholarship, in eloquence, in patriotism and in love of truth and justice, the soul of one would seem to be mirrored in that of the other. "Truth," said Plutarch, "is the greatest good that man can conceive and the goodliest blessing that God can bestow." The man who has not truth and justice for his motto cannot hope for the reward that history metes out: nor can a man lacking these qualities expect more than a temporary triumph in his own generation. This gift of truth and justice seems to have been the controlling passion with all of Ireland's martyrs, and the legacy thus bequeathed is, or ought to be, as sacred to us as the cause for which those heroes died

De Valera was extremely successful as a teacher. We have evidence of this not alone in the fact that his services were sought in nearly all the University Colleges in the City of Dublin, but in the distinctions obtained by his pupils. At Holy Cross College, Clonliffe, several members of his matriculation classes were awarded honours in the subjects he taught, one getting the first place. The same student later under his teaching received a first-class scholarship in Mathematical Science and the first place in Mathematics in the first University examination. Speaking of him later, the Very Rev. J. J. Canon Dunne, President of the College, said that his success as a teacher was due to the admirable care, punctuality and zeal with which he devoted himself to the work, as well as to the great knowledge he possessed of the subject matter. He taught successfully at Belvedere College, S.J., and at Rockwell College he had charge of the higher mathematical courses in the Intermediate and University classes. His class at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, where he temporarily substituted the Rev. Dr. Browne, an able advocate of Sinn Fein, contained many distinguished scholars. At the Dominican College, Eccles Street, Dublin, where he was engaged until the disestablishment of the Royal University, he was, in the words of the Prioress, "punctual, painstaking, and exceptionally lucid in his explanations of the various subjects to his pupils."

The loss of de Valera to the teaching profession, when called away to fill the highest position in the gift of his country, was immeasurable, and nowhere, perhaps, were his services so seriously missed as at the Training College, Carysfort Park, to which he was attached for a longer period than to any of the other Colleges. Here, as the reader has already learned, he taught mathematics, and his explanations were so clear and so interesting and he was such a perfect master of his subject, that he arrested the attention of one hundred students with the greatest ease. It is interesting to note what Sister M. Malachy, Vice Principal, has to say about him :

Photo by | **EAMONN DE VALERA.** | *Lafayette*
at the age of twenty-two.

"It was our privilege to have Mr. de Valera as Professor of Mathematics in our College from September, 1906 until the week before the Rebellion, after which he did not return. Even while here his worth was manifest and he was thoroughly appreciated by each and all of us. His devotedness to duty and his manly piety were an example to all in the college."

It may be of interest to young agriculturists if we give here one of seven problems set by de Valera to first year students at Carysfort Park, in October, 1906:

"One hundred persons combine to buy a cow for £15, each contributing equally. If she yields an average of three gallons of milk per day for seven months (210 days say), the average price of milk during the time being 3d. per quart, what should each contributor receive altogether supposing the cow is sold at the end of seven months for £16, and that fodder, etc., during the time has cost £6. What is the gain per cent., and what rate per cent. per annum interest does each contributor receive?"

Or our lady readers may be interested in one set to second year students on the same occasion:

"At what price should a jeweller label a bracelet which has cost him ten guineas, if he proposes giving a discount of 20 per cent. for cash and still wishes to gain 20 per cent.? If it is ten months on his hands before sale, what rate per cent. per annum interest does he receive?"

In addition to his other educational activities de Valera held the posts of Examiner in Mathematics, Intermediate Education Board; Examiner in Irish, Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons; and Examiner in Physics, National University of Ireland. In the whole course of the happy and even flow of his educational career the one and only place in which he found a disturbing feature was Trinity College. The antonym of Sir Edward Grey's "one bright spot" best indicates the position

Trinity held in the eyes of young Irishmen of Catholic or patriotic stock. De Valera felt very uncomfortable there, and were it not for the good offices of a certain Professor he would have reaped but little benefit from his connection with that institution. The noble Wolfe Tone tells us in his autobiography that "it was much against his grain that he continued his studies at Trinity." Even Dr. Douglas Hyde regarded himself there "as an alien in a hostile place." De Valera's feelings, therefore, only accorded with what its history might lead us to expect. There are many people, of course, to whom prejudices are concrete facts, but in the case of Trinity the anti-Irish spirit which pervaded the atmosphere of that College chilled the hearts of more men than Tone, Hyde, and de Valera. It is doubtful if Aristotle, who, we are told, "besides his other extraordinary talents had the art of insinuating himself into the affections of those he conversed with," would have been a success in Trinity under similar circumstances.

During his College career de Valera spent most of his holidays in Bruree. While he still enjoyed Gaelic games such as hurling and football, he did not practise these very much during his visits, but instead took to shooting, a pastime which besides pleasure and exercise brought him no little profit, for he was a good shot. There was little in the mechanism of a gun that he did not understand. It was noted that he had a different fowling-piece each time he returned to Bruree, and the last was always sure to be superior in some respect to the former. His love for firearms was something akin to the love of the Arab for his steed. He was once heard to remark: "I am afraid I shall be a soldier, I have such a love for guns." He usually found plenty of sport to the north and north-east of Bruree. Looking down from Knocknore Hill or from Clogher Hill on a summer evening one might observe small puffs of smoke rising here and there, and in the immediate vicinity a tall athletic figure moving swiftly forward. This was de Valera. He had probably bagged a snipe,

or a duck, or perhaps he was following up a new trail, but it was de Valera, for his tall, thin figure, silhouetted against the high fields beyond could not be mistaken.

Shooting is an exquisite pastime in this locality. A small stream known as the "Brook" winds its way through the townlands of Dromin, Clogher and Howardstown, entering the Maigue a few miles to the north of Bruree. This stream and its basin abound in snipe and duck. Partridges are to be found in the fallow fields, with an occasional pheasant, the rarity of this bird making the search all the more interesting. Grouse is not to be found, except for a stray bird from the preserves at Ballyhoura—a mountain range about eight miles distant. De Valera had, therefore, ample opportunities for enjoying a good day's shooting, and although there was splendid salmon and trout fishing available, the sport of the angler was unable to divert him from the gun.

That indefatigable search after knowledge, of which we have already spoken, did not remain in abeyance even during these outings, for we find him keeping touch with a casual acquaintance upon whose store of Irish he placed much value. When a little boy he picked up many words of Irish from his grandmother, and having enlarged his vocabulary at school he found it beneficial to put into practice what he knew, by conversing, as far as possible, with persons who were able to respond and merely exchanging the salutations with those who had no better knowledge. In this way he gained the friendship of an old shoemaker from Bruree who proved to be a fluent Irish speaker. The shoemaker was well nigh one hundred years of age, but looked as fresh as a man of sixty. He was a fine story-teller, and the freshness and charm of his anecdotes appealed to de Valera, who always enjoyed his conversation. He had one fault, however: he spoke 19 to the dozen, like Matryona the wife of Simon in one of Count Tolstoy's tales. Nevertheless, de Valera extracted much information from him, and what was more important he acquired the correct

blas. The shoemaker became a frequent caller at Mr. Coll's house, flattered, no doubt, at the amount of attention his superior knowledge of the language attracted. De Valera, too, had the quality—rare nowadays—of being able to economise his speech, which was pleasing to the shoemaker, from whom, when not interrupted, a wealth of charming stories and anecdotes poured out in an even flow like milk from a pail. Desmond Ryan also speaks of the grey-haired Seanchaidhe, who was Pearse's truest teacher; but with the exception of Pearse, de Valera, and the other enthusiastic workers in the Gaelic League movement, the people did not appear to realise the treasures they possessed in those grand old men and women. At one time it looked as if the tide of anglicization would have swamped young and old, and the onward rush was so great that the Gaelic League would hardly have succeeded in stemming it, were it not for the fact that its more ardent members became merged in Sinn Fein, thus bringing to strength and maturity a movement that at one stroke rescued the soul of Ireland from a fate shameful to contemplate.

It was when in pursuit of his Irish studies that De Valera first met the late Roger Casement. This memorable meeting took place at the Irish College, Twain, Tourmacreaky, Co. Galway, and from the beginning a warm friendship sprung up between them which continued until that valued life, ever devoted to the regeneration of the oppressed and the downtrodden, was suddenly cut short on an English scaffold; for this was the reward meted out to Roger Casement for his services to humanity. De Valera had charge of the Irish College at Twain for a while. One should really become a student at one of these Colleges to understand thoroughly the warmth of the enthusiasm, of the patriotism, of the fervour and hospitality of those lovers of the language and of Ireland who assemble there. The discussions in Irish, the chat over the tea-cup in Irish, the prayers in Irish all combined—would force one to believe that the soul of

Ireland was within those walls, and that the rest of the country was an English Pale. Here in Twain, and elsewhere, de Valera and Roger Casement collaborated in the Gaelic revival movement, and it is sad to think that the extension of this collaboration to the free and independent counsels of the Dail should have been prevented by the hand of an English executioner.

CHAPTER III.

N the summer of 1907, while de Valera was still at Blackrock College, his mother visited Ireland for the purpose of taking him back to America. She thought that there were better opportunities for him in the New World, and, indeed, she had good reasons for so thinking, for when she left Ireland in 1879, coercion acts, imprisonments, rackrenting and multifarious milder forms of aggression occupied the minds of the governing classes to the complete neglect of the rights of the people. De Valera had, however, now won his way through the various schools and colleges, and having an educational career mapped out for himself did not wish to interrupt it. He was, moreover, pleased with his surroundings and was not anxious for a change. He felt, too, that his position in life was assured. Education was his forte, and he had, perhaps, the same determination to succeed as that which prompted Daniel O'Connell to remark: "Though nature has given me subordinate talents, I never will be satisfied with a subordinate situation in my profession." He put the matter in this light before his mother, whom he had little difficulty in convincing of the fact that there was much more to be gained by remaining in Ireland than by returning with her to the United States of America. She agreed therefore that he should continue his studies and professorial duties in Dublin. This decision was, indeed, a momentous one, not alone for de Valera himself but for Ireland also. Momentous decisions sometimes occur within the ambit of all our lives, but it is only he who accepts, and not he who resists, the interposition of the

higher power behind them that can hope to reach the final goal.

De Valera's mother was accompanied to Ireland by her second son, now Father Wheelright, and after having spent a few months at Knockmore, Bruree, returned to America. She now resides with her husband in the City of Rochester, New York, in which city a sister of hers—Mrs. Patrick Connolly—has also been resident for many years.

In 1912 de Valera was a candidate for the chair of Mathematical Physics, University College, Cork; a position he would, no doubt, have filled with distinction had he been appointed, but a poll taken between himself and another candidate—the President's nominee—resulted in a tie. Sir Bertram Windle was President of the College at the time, and each of the Munster County Councils had a representative on the Governing Body. De Valera put forward excellent credentials, but many of the County Council representatives at that time were not disposed to give due weight to credentials—if they gave any at all—hence the result. But even under these conditions he would have won had the County Limerick representative, who recognised his worth, attended the meeting. It was said that he missed the train at Kilmallock by just one minute. At any rate his absence was responsible for the position going to the President's nominee; for the appointment was then transferred to the Senate, and on the advice of his friends de Valera declined to further contest the matter. Had de Valera won, it is to be assumed that he would have been in Cork and not in Dublin during the stirring weeks leading up to the Rebellion. How would this have affected his future career? It is certain that wherever domiciled he would have been a Volunteer, but would he have had the same opportunities of distinguishing himself in Cork that he had in Dublin? Greatness often depends on our being in a position to avail of the opportunities that come our way and taking advantage of them. It is indeed strange what a trifling incident will sometimes change a man's whole career. Wolfe Tone had once

determined on going off to India, but he missed the last boat. By the time the next boat was due to sail he had changed his plans. Thus our Annals were near being shorn of a glorious name and our history of a glorious page.

At the very time that de Valera was seeking this appointment at Cork political events in Ireland were taking new shape. Sir Edward Carson had now decided upon forming an Ulster Volunteer Force, with the avowed object of defeating the Home Rule Bill which Mr. Asquith was then piloting through the English House of Commons. Civil war was hinted at and rebellion threatened from many platforms on which Sir Edward was supported by prominent Englishmen, all of whom were imbued with the old spirit of intolerance. Army officers of various ranks, secretly and otherwise, declared their adhesion to the new movement, and not a few generals were willing to give their aid in any emergency. In the meantime, British diplomacy drew from Mr. John Redmond a tacit approval of the Government's objects—the partition of Ireland—in which he later acquiesced to the full extent required. Such, briefly, was the political outlook when the first enrolment of the Irish Volunteers took place in Dublin on the 25th November, 1913. In the beginning the Irish Party and some of its supporters looked askance at the new movement. Yet volunteers were being enrolled by the thousand. They could be seen drilling in the parks and greens, in the country roads and suburban areas, whilst the Government and the Irish Party looked on with subdued amazement. In the North Sir Edward Carson and his supporters became still more outspoken in their defiance of the Government, and when in March, 1914, troops were ordered to the North the ignominious affair known as the "Curragh Mutiny" took place. The echoes of this event had hardly died away when the great gun-running coup at Larne was effected with great pomp and *eclat*; the weakness or connivance of the Liberal Government having filled the Orange leaders with ideas of something more than ephemeral power. De Valera was now

an energetic Volunteer, as were almost all those who were active members of the Gaelic League. Whilst the north threatened and the Irish Volunteers continued to drill and grow in numbers, Mr. Redmond, seeing the power and influence of the new organisation, endeavoured to obtain control of it. He demanded permission to nominate to the Provisional Committee of the Volunteers 25 members of his own choosing, and rather than disrupt the movement at this particular juncture, many well-founded objections to the proposal were waived. But when later on he attempted to commit the Volunteers to a policy not contemplated or sanctioned, either by the Provisional Committee or the Volunteers themselves, a break occurred; and thenceforward the movement followed its own course, untrammelled by party interest or control. De Valera was not a member of the Provisional Committee, but he was an officer in one of the Dublin Battalions, when the manifesto reaffirming the original objects of the Volunteers, viz.: "To secure and maintain the rights and liberties common to all the people of Ireland," was issued on the 24th September, 1914. Since the issue of this manifesto made secure the foundation stone upon which the events of 1916 were built and upon which de Valera continued to work, it is only just that the names of those who signed it should be reproduced here. They were as follows:—

> Eoin MacNeill (Chairman, Provisional Committee), The O'Rahilly (Treasurer, Provisional Committee), Thomas MacDonagh, Piaras Beaslai, Joseph Plunkett, P. P. Macken, M. J. Judge, P. H. Pearse, Sean MacGiobuin, Bulmor Hobson, Padraic O'Ryan, Eamon Martin, Con Colbert, Eamonn Ceannt, Sean MacDermott, Seamus O'Connor, Liam Mellows, L. C. O'Loughlin, Liam Goggin, Peter White.

As an officer of the Irish Volunteers, de Valera took an important part in the landing of arms and ammunition at Howth on Sunday, 26th July, 1914, and he narrowly escaped being wounded when, as the Volunteers reached

Clontarf on their return to Dublin, the Assistant-Commissioner of Police with over 150 men, supported by a company of soldiers, endeavoured to intercept their progress. The police made an attempt to seize the arms, but failed, the Volunteers getting clear away with the loss of but a few rifles; and when the tragic shooting at Bachelor's Walk occurred, all the officers and men were in their respective homes. From this onward de Valera became more and more proficient in the duties allotted to him, and when, in 1915, a big concentration and review of Volunteers took place in Limerick, he was second in command to P. H. Pearse. He also took a prominent part in the O'Donovan Rossa funeral arrangements; the efficient manner in which he carried out his part of the programme calling forth many encomiums from those with whom he was associated. As yet his name had not come to the notice of the Press, for like many more of the heroes brought to light by the rising of 1916, he evinced no desire for publicity. After this he took part in no other public event of importance until the month before the rising, when an incident occurred at a great St. Patrick's Day demonstration, that caused the Dublin Castle officials to think more seriously still of the type of men that now confronted them, and were soon to contest their authority. It appears that Lord Powerscourt, who it was believed had been sent from the Castle to view the parade and report, endeavoured to cross the Volunteer lines at a point where de Valera was in charge. He was instantly refused permission, and this not being to his liking, as his words will indicate, he remarked: "This damn thrash would not be tolerated in any other country in the world." De Valera replied firmly, that if the military were marching he, or his fellow-countrymen, would not be allowed to pass. It was no trifling matter to cross the path of a noble lord in those days of Dublin Castle supremacy.

De Valera certainly possessed all the qualities befitting an officer of the Volunteers. Besides being a fluent Irish speaker, he was brave, manly and upright; and there

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was ample proof that he was not the man to quail in the hour of danger; nor was he likely to be misled by ostentatious displays on the part of his opponents, or by the sweet coquetry of pretending friends. He seems to have taken after the Colls in stature as well as in brain power, for he stands well over 6 feet in height. His features are thin, but the fine forehead and penetrating eyes of a light brown give an impression of immense strength, whether one thinks of him in the athletic ground or on the battlefield, or in the council chamber. Charles Bassaun once summed up the character of Marshal Petain of France in these words: "In his iron frame there is a soul of steel. The face gives an impression of intelligence and cold strength, but he has a warm and generous heart." If he were writing of Eamonn de Valera he need not have altered a single comma.

We can now, perhaps, visualise to some degree the type of man the English had to meet, when on Easter Monday De Valera shouldered his rifle and led his men through the streets of Dublin to the pre-arranged battle-ground. For many weeks before the rising he was in close touch with all the leaders MacNeill, Pearse, MacDonagh and the rest; and on the Friday preceding Easter Week he was one of the first to learn of Sir Roger Casement's arrest on the Kerry coast. Roger Casement had gone on a Sinn Fein mission to America whence he proceeded to Germany, where his diplomatic skill quickly enabled him to gain friends at Court. He soon succeeded in gaining a hearing for Ireland, and in due course the Germans fitted out a ship with guns, ammunition and men, which, however, did not reach its destination, being overhauled by a British cruiser on nearing the Irish coast. As the World War raged fiercely at this time the British would have been glad, too, to lay hold of the war material carried, but the captain of the ship had his orders—he blew her up as she was being towed a prisoner to Cove. In the meantime Casement, who had landed from a submarine, was captured, more or less accidentally, while resting in

an old fort. Had this enterprise succeeded it is a matter for conjecture what shape subsequent events in Ireland would have taken. As matters stood the mishap created a slight flutter in the inner counsels at Dublin, but this was not discernible abroad. On Easter Sunday Eoin MacNeill sent instructions directing the men to disperse. De Valera received these instructions, obeyed them and notified MacNeill to that effect. The news from Kerry was certainly disheartening, but it did not cause that dismay that one might be inclined to expect in the circumstances. There was, no doubt a conflict of opinion for the moment, but this completely disappeared on Monday morning when all ranks lined up for action. The hour for battle had now arrived. When the signal came at about noon de Valera was at his post. He was commandant of the Ringsend to Mount Street area, which included Boland's Mills, and during the operations he set up a strenuous fight which lasted long after the collapse of the G.P.O. In this area the fighting was fiercest, there being many casualties amongst the Sherwood Foresters, who were unable to make the slightest advance from one point for a whole day. In one of their positions, a sniper gave the Volunteers much trouble. All attempts to locate him having failed, a message was sent to de Valera, who quickly arrived on the scene. With the aid of glasses he soon detected a soldier hidden away in the ivy near a chimney stack, from which point a dangerous fire was directed on the Volunteer position. De Valera pointed him out to two of his men, and giving a hand himself, the sniper was not heard of again. At about the same time de Valera performed what was considered a very clever piece of tactics. Outside de Valera's position and within view of the Bay there was a distillery which he feared the enemy might occupy. This, which would give the opposing forces a certain advantage, he was unable to prevent by force of arms. After a short study of the situation he decided on pretending to occupy the distillery himself in order, if possible, to draw the fire of the boats which

were within range, on the building. With this object in view he flew the tricolour from the roof during the day and had the windows lit up at night, giving an impression of much activity in this quarter. He had not long to wait. The building was bombarded by heavy guns from the bay and it soon crumbled to the ground. De Valera thus got the enemy to accomplish for him what he himself was unable to do. He had under his command about one hundred of the nine hundred men in the fight, and with this number it may be assumed that he fought his due proportion of the 40,000 British soldiers engaged.

De Valera was the last of the commandants to surrender, not laying down his arms until Sunday, April 30th. Even then his men were in splendid fighting form; his position was well organised, and he was fully prepared to continue the struggle, until the order to surrender reached him from the Commandant-General. When he received this order from P. H. Pearse on Sunday morning he at first refused to believe it was genuine, but having satisfied himself as to its authenticity, and regarding it as an order, he yielded.

Here is how Dr. Myles Keogh describes the opening parley: "Two men came out of the Poor Law Dispensary opposite Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital. One was a military cadet—a prisoner—and the other was de Valera.

'Hullo!' cried de Valera.

'Who are you?' said the officer.

'I am de Valera.'

'And I am a prisoner,' shouted the other."

After the surrender, the first thing de Valera did was to demand fair treatment for his men. Addressing the officer in a tone that sounded more of victory than of defeat, he said: "Do what you like with me, but I demand proper treatment for my men." Previous to the fight he made a careful study of tactics, his mathematical training enabling him to absorb military works with great ease, and when the real conflict came he displayed remarkable ability in putting into practice what he had learned;

he was urged on, too, by the justice of his cause. There is no man so brave as the man whose courage is built on the solid rock of right and justice. The banner on which these words are inscribed and retained in their purity, cannot be denied ultimate victory. The Brothers Sheares saw right and justice in the French Revolution. The thought of their own tyrannical rulers made them even long for a replica of such an event in Ireland. On the way back from France one of them remarked in the course of a discussion, that they had witnessed the execution of King Louis, and that they had obtained a good view. "But in God's name how could you endure to witness such a spectacle?" asked an Englishman. "From love of the cause," replied John, promptly. Filled with a sense of right and justice we can, therefore, endure anything, and thus it has been with Irishmen down through the long ages—down to de Valera and his brave comrades.

For his part in the rebellion de Valera was sentenced to death. This sentence was subsequently commuted to one of penal servitude for life. There are doubts as to whether this was due to his American citizenship, or to the fact that he was the last commandant to surrender. The length of the fight until well into Sunday certainly put back his court-martial until prisoners taken earlier had been dealt with, and by the time his turn came there was a general outcry against the number and brutality of the executions that had already taken place. He was immediately deported to England, with hundreds of other prisoners, tried and untried, space being found for him in Lewis Prison. On learning of this sentence one of his former students, Miss Nora Harrington, gave vent to her feelings in beautiful lines of sorrow and eulogy:

To De Valera.

Comes a shadow o'er my spirit
And a sorrow laden breath,
For that noble soul that's hurried
Into silence worse than death.

Oh! I cannot understand it,
That the cold hard-hearted live,
Holding all that fortune offers,
All that luxury can give;
While the greatest heart that ever
In a true-born Irish breast
Beat for Ireland and for freedom
Only knows a felon's rest.

De Valera, my ideal,
Of what noble man should be;
Calm, reserved, warm, impulsive,
And strong-hearted as the sea,
Laughter loving, glad and pensive,
Sad and happy all combined,
Scorning all the empty shamming
Of the shallow modern mind.
True to principle and honour,
Yet as playful as a child,
As a father, soldier, scholar,
Always gentle, always kind.

De Valera's incarceration at Lewis prison brings to mind the fact that he had previously experienced the thrill of imprisonment when a school-boy at Bruree. It happened in this way: One day word reached the schoolmaster at Bruree that one of his sixth class boys who had not turned up at school, was hiding in an old fort about a mile away. The schoolmaster immediately determined on bringing the recalcitrant youth to justice. Looking round the school he pitched on de Valera as being the best boy to send on the expedition, giving him at the same time full freedom to select anyone he liked to accompany him. Having secured an *aide-de-camp* both started for the fort, but the boy in hiding saw them approach, and apparently realising their object he at once made away across the fields. The others went in pursuit, but after about half

a mile of a cross-country chase de Valera's assistant grew tired. De Valera himself, however, continued the pursuit, and though well able to keep in touch with the runaway, was yet disappointed at not being able to overhaul him. At last the wanted boy made for a farmhouse and, breathless, begged of the farm hand who was in the yard to hold de Valera until he escaped. "Leave that to me," said the labourer, adding: "you just hide behind that wall over there." He had hardly uttered these words when de Valera dashed into the yard. "Where is that boy gone to?" was his first remark. "He is gone into that barn over there," was the calm reply. De Valera quickly entered, but the labourer was still quicker, for he locked the door from the outside and de Valera was obliged to remain a prisoner until long after school had finished. In justice to de Valera's reputation as an athlete it should perhaps be mentioned that the boy thus pursued won, on many an occasion afterwards, the hundred yards in less than 10 seconds.

Speaking of Lewis and other prisons, one cannot help noting the number and extent of these institutions that have always been available for Irishmen. If the progress of a nation were to be judged by the number of cubic feet devoted to its prisons England should easily rank first in civilisation. For generations past it has been the policy of England to hold Irishmen in disdain, flattering herself with ideas of a higher civilisation, but records show that Englishmen are inferior morally, physically, and intellectually to Irishmen, and it was in making this fact apparent to the whole world that de Valera and his comrades won a victory equal to, if not greater than their victory on the field. In her campaign against Ireland, England often secured successes by applying the art of flattery to her victims where invective failed. Even some of our constitutional representatives were not invulnerable in this respect. Indeed some of them would remind one of Marcus Crassus, "who though an exquisite flatterer himself yet no man was more easily caught by flattery

than he." De Valera and the men of the Dail were not likely to be imposed upon in this way, and not alone that but they made sure that the men of other nations would no longer be similarly imposed upon. Characteristically de Valera is a man of silence. He speaks only when it is necessary to speak, and then his words are candid. He had, of necessity, more secrets in his keeping, perhaps, than any other Irish leader in the past, yet it is not known that one of these leaked out prematurely. An old school companion relates how he had lunch with him the week before the rising, and in the course of the political and general conversation that followed, not a single hint did he give of the big events that were then brewing. It was only when the fight was over, and when he saw de Valera's name appear as one of the commandants, that he recalled the conversation that had taken place between them only a few days previously, and on thinking over it he said that de Valera's buoyancy and reticence on the occasion had been remarkable. If he were boating on the beautiful Lakes of Killarney or watching the broad Atlantic waves as they beat against the Cliffs of Moher he could hardly have looked more peaceful than he did on that April afternoon; yet within a few days he was in open conflict with one of the most powerful Empires in the world.

In presenting the story of de Valera's life from boyhood to manhood we passed over, without comment, one very important year. This was the year 1910, in which he was married. As has happened on numerous other occasions the Gaelic League class was responsible for the happy union, for it was while engaged in exchanging lessons—Irish for German—that de Valera and Sinead ni Fhlannagain became intimately acquainted. Sinead being an Irish scholar and de Valera being well versed in Greek, Latin, French, German, etc., they both found it pleasant and advantageous to exchange lessons, and it was in this way that acquaintance ripened into love. Writing of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Thomas Moore says:

" In some natures love is a fruit that ripens quickly, and that such was its growth in Lord Edward's warm heart the whole history of his life fully testifies." If we take the love of Lord Edward for Pamela, the love of Emmet for Sarah Curran, or the love of de Valera for Sinead ni Fhlannagain, we have three instances of that warm and pure love typical of the Irish nature. Love as found in Ireland is an exquisite gem, but it is still more exquisite when placed in contrast with the cold, worldly, selfish love which has been propagated and finds favour elsewhere. But as was said of the land of Egypt :

> " There plenty sows the fields with herbs salubrious
> But scatters many a baneful weed between."

In that garden of love which we cherish, there are to be found, no doubt, some baneful weeds—nurtured to a certain extent by English influences. It is to be hoped, however, that those weeds will decline rather than flourish in the new era of prosperity that is in store for us, otherwise we shall have laboured in vain.

Passing on from this short disquisition on love we find that de Valera made rapid progress in Irish under the tuition of his future wife, who, not content with being a fluent speaker of the language herself, was deeply interested in its revival throughout the country. Sinead ni Fhlannagain was well known in Gaelic League circles, particularly in the Ard Craobh and Columcille branch and in the Leinster College of Irish, where she was an earnest worker and very popular. Her gentle and affectionate manner made her the delight of the children's classes. She also took part in many Irish plays, and it is said that her graceful acting impressed all those who witnessed her performances, particularly with Dr. Douglas Hyde in " An Posadh," " The Tinker and the Fairy," while she made a dignified Spanish Ambassador in " Hugh O'Neill." There are six children of the marriage, four boys and two girls—Vivian, Eamonn, Brian, Ruary, Mairin, and Emer.

Although de Valera was a member of many clubs and societies, and while as a member of the St. Vincent de Paul Society visited the sick and the poor with William Field, M.P., and others; yet he was not known to the general public until Easter Week. Perhaps his first public appearance in Ireland as a leader was in June, 1917, when, after the general amnesty, he marched home at the head of the prisoners. Those who witnessed the arrival of the prisoners at Dun Laoghaire will long remember the magnificent figure they displayed as they swung through the gangway singing the soldier's song and cheering lustily, with the huge crowd around them, for dear old Ireland and for de Valera, whom they had proclaimed leader. Tired and worn after the rigour of prison life in England, it was no easy matter to sing or to cheer, but the spirit of those brave men fighting for a just cause seemed inexhaustible. From that moment the Soldier's Song became immensely popular, and de Valera became, as if by magic, the accepted Leader of the Irish Nation.

THE SOLDIER'S SONG.

We'll sing a song, a soldier's song,
With cheering, rousing chorus,
As round our blazing fires we throng,
The starry heavens o'er us;
Impatient for the coming fight,
And as we wait the morning's light,
Here in the silence of the night
We'll chant the soldier's song.

Soldiers are we whose lives are pledged to Ireland,
Some have come from a land beyond the wave,
Sworn to be free, no more our ancient sireland
Shall shelter the despot or the slave.
To-night we man the bearna baoghail,
In Erin's cause come woe or weal;
'Mid cannon's roar and rifle's peal
We'll chant a soldier's song.

In valley green and towering crag
  Our fathers fought before us,
And conquer'd 'neath the same old flag
  That's proudly floating o'er us;
We're children of a fighting race
That never yet has known disgrace,
And as we march the foe to face
We'll chant a soldier's song.

Sons of the Gael,
  Men of the Pale,
The long-watched day is breaking,
The serried ranks of Innisfail
  Shall set the tyrant quaking.
Our camp-fires now are burning low,
See in the East a silv'ry glow;
Out yonder waits the Saxon foe,
So chant a soldier's song.

PEADAR O'CEARNAIGH.

CHAPTER IV.

THE resignation of Mr. Lloyd George from the Asquith Cabinet in October, 1916, and his subsequent elevation to the premiership caused a political sensation of the first magnitude. The policy of the Government now became sporadic and uncertain. In December the untried Sinn Fein prisoners were released, but in February, shortly after Count Plunkett's victory in Roscommon, a fresh swoop was made on men prominent in the Sinn Fein and Gaelic League movements, Terence MacSwiney and Thomas MacCurtin of Cork being among those arrested. The idea of an Irish Convention now occurred to Mr. Lloyd George. In making his proposals the British Premier said that the Government had decided on asking Irishmen to frame a constitution for the government of their own country. All the leading interests, all creeds, classes and sections, were to take part in the Convention. The Sinn Feiners were to be represented as well as the followers of Mr. Redmond and Mr. O'Brien, and if *substantial agreement* were reached for Irish self-government within the Empire, he promised to recommend the proposal to the British Parliament.

Mr. Redmond declared that the proposed assembly was one that no Irishman could with any show of reason refuse, and he felt sure every section of his countrymen would agree to come into it. The Ulster Unionist Council decided with four dissentients out of 350 delegates to send representatives. Sinn Fein, however, saw through the veil and absolutely declined to take any part in the proceedings, regarding the Convention as a trap for the unwary.

With Mr. Lloyd George himself as judge of what was substantial agreement, and with the Unionist representatives present to prevent such agreement from being attained, it was unlikely that anything would result from the Convention. The aim of the Government appeared to be, as stated by Sir F. E. Smith, "to keep the Irish talking" while the road was being made easy for America to enter the war. "A man must be afflicted with blindness," said Lord Curzon, "if he does not appreciate that the co-operation of America will be more hearty, more fruitful, if she could feel that Ireland, with whom she has so many associations, was pulling its full weight in the comity of free and allied nations. America realises, as we realise, that to win the kind of victory which we are out to win in this war, the full strength of the British Empire must be turned to that purpose. A united Ireland, a reconciled Ireland, would be an important addition to that strength. A divided Ireland, a sulky Ireland, a rebellious Ireland, is a source of weakness." But to Irishmen whose battle for freedom was centuries old, England's difficulties were only of secondary consideration; and although the war raged fiercely close to the Hindenburg line and England was menaced by air-craft, the progress of the war was followed only in so far as it was likely to affect the advance of the republican cause; and bearing in mind the tortures which Ireland had suffered and endured while other nations were at peace, she could not now be accused of selfishness if she placed her own interests first.

The Convention was held in camera, and the public press was not allowed to discuss the proceedings. With an occasional official report it dragged out its weary existence from month to month, but with Sinn Fein standing aloof, Mr. Lloyd George's great scheme failed to produce all the results he anticipated.

On the 7th June the death of Mr. William Redmond, M.P., took place in France, and the resultant vacancy in East Clare gave rise to one of the most exciting contests since the days of O'Connell. De Valera, though still in

prison, was chosen to carry the Republican banner. After much hesitation on the part of the Government he and other prisoners were released, this action being prompted by a desire to create an " atmosphere " for the Convention.

When they arrived in Dublin, on the 18th of June, they were greeted by thousands of people, amongst those present being many friends from Clare, who had come up specially to tell de Valera of the progress that was being made. After a short delay in Dublin he left for the scene of the conflict, where he found the election machinery in full swing.

He had many willing helpers, the late Thomas Ashe being one of those who rendered invaluable assistance. The battle was one on which the future of Ireland depended and the men of Clare fully realised their responsibility. The result of the contest was awaited with intense anxiety, and in the counties bordering on Clare the one subject of conversation was de Valera's chance of success. The fact that the seat had been held for the Irish Party by John Redmond's brother, who had had a great following, and that the opposing candidate was a well-known and highly respected Clare man made the issue somewhat doubtful. Yet with Roscommon and Longford in their mind, the general public as well as Sinn Fein hoped for a small majority, and the honest, straightforward speeches of de Valera, backed up by the thoroughness with which the Volunteers carried out the arrangements, caused this hope to grow stronger as the day of the polling approached. But when the result* showing that de Valera had won by 2,975 votes was announced, the joy of the people was indescribable, for under the circumstances nobody expected such a sweeping victory. De Valera had on the one hand arraigned against him the full strength of the party supporters, and on the other the full force of the Government. No event since the rising gave such an impetus to the Sinn Fein movement as the Clare election.

Not many weeks were allowed to elapse ere the authori-

*De Valera, 5,010 ; Lynch, 2,035.

ties began to show their resentment at the people's choice. De Valera's supporters were arrested and imprisoned on the slightest pretext, and instead of being treated as political prisoners were branded as criminals, a stigma which they bitterly resented. Consequently about the middle of September the Mountjoy hunger-strike, which had such a tragic ending for Thomas Ashe, commenced. De Valera had the support of the whole country in his protest against this treatment of brave men. At a meeting held at Smithfield he proposed a resolution calling the attention of the European Powers and the United States to the fact that Irishmen were being arrested, tried by courts-martial and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for declaring in the terms of President Wilson's message "that no people shall be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not desire to live."

De Valera's movements were now closely watched. Detectives followed him to all public meetings, and whenever his destination was known or anticipated, the police of that locality were informed by code message. In the beginning, when the code system had not yet been fully developed as regards rural stations, de Valera's movements were often thus innocently referred to in the police telegrams:

"*To the Sergeant, R.I.C., at*—— . . .

"*Parcel* left by 4.15 p.m. train to-day. Please look out for it."

But the nature of the "parcel" did not long remain a secret.

The Government and the Irish Party were now very much perturbed at Sinn Fein's success, and nothing was left undone that would be likely to bring discredit on de Valera and the movement he represented. The Government did not wish to loose its grip on the main arteries of the country, and the Irish Party was chiefly concerned with retaining unity in its ranks and a certain voting strength at Westminster. On the 23rd October Mr. Redmond brought forward a motion in the British House of Commons ostensibly for the purpose of drawing attention

to the Government's policy in Ireland as it affected the Convention and the future of Ireland, but the real trouble was how best to restore in some measure the waning reputation of his party. "The situation in Ireland," said Mr. Redmond, "was one of extreme gravity, and the successful ending of the Irish Convention was the only hope that stood between Ireland and a period of chaos and anarchy, the like of which had not been known in the history of Ireland for a century. There was the greatest danger of the destruction of the Convention if the present policy of the *Irish Authorities* was continued." *

Mr. Duke, Chief Secretary, availed of the opportunity to justify his policy of repression, and amidst cheers he proceeded to give blood-curdling accounts of the activities —real or supposed —of de Valera and the other leaders. "The young men of Ireland -200,000 of them," he said, "were being now recruited enemies of the Empire and of the Allies for the purpose of creating a new rebellion in Ireland. The Government had treated the Irish rebels with the utmost magnanimity, but when the prisoners were released they engaged again in efforts to foment rebellion. The leaders were reorganising the Irish Volunteers with a view to completing by force of arms the work done in the Easter Week rebellion. Week by week for a period running into months there had been organisation and drilling in every parish and village in Ireland, and to a considerable extent in the large towns, of the new Irish Volunteers. The organisation was professedly a rebel force. They were told by their leaders that they had a considerable force of arms and that they would have more before the day came." And then lest his audience should still remain unmoved he shouted in a melodramatic tone,

* This reference to "Irish Authorities" was a clear index to an imperial mind. It was likely to mislead foreign countries into the belief that Ireland was governed by Irishmen, and the use of the term lent a hand, perhaps unconsciously, to British propaganda. De Valera would have used the more appropriate term "British Authorities in Ireland."

"Arms from where? The Sinn Feiners could not buy them in Ireland. It could only be that the helping hand which was to bring them arms was Germany, and the reason for the deportation of some of the men was that the helping hand of Germany was being stretched out again and the Government knew it." Instead of throwing a dark cloud over Ireland, as was intended, Mr. Duke, in this speech, paid a most eloquent tribute to the genius and patriotism of the men who thus acted for their motherland in defiance of a powerful Empire that had at its disposal the most modern and ghastly engines of war. After speeches by Messrs. William O'Brien, Joseph Devlin, and others, Mr. Lloyd George resumed the attack, singling out de Valera for special attention, but, as in the case of Mr. Duke, his remarks, while momentarily serving a purpose in the Commons, really resulted in adding fresh laurels to de Valera's crown. A strain of uneasiness was noticeable throughout the Premier's speech, and it was evident that he saw in the new leader now appearing strong on the Irish horizon, a man of superior ability and courage, whose words bore no trace of empty eloquence or sham heroics—those playthings of the modern politician. Here is what he said:—

> "I have read Mr. de Valera's speeches, and I say that they are calm, deliberate, and, I might say, cold-blooded incitements to rebellion. He delivered them not merely on one occasion, but he repeated them meeting after meeting almost in the same studied terms, at several places, urging the people to drill, to march, to study the mechanism of rifles in order that whenever they were supplied with them they would be able to use them efficiently. The Government could not forget what happened 18 months ago (Easter Week) when they got speeches of that kind delivered, the same sort of drilling and the same sort of information about intrigues to get German rifles—and it must be remembered that German rifles were very nearly brought in at the time. How can the

Government treat speeches of that kind as if they were of the sort of excitable speeches delivered by a person of no consequence which could end in nothing. I think that it is essential that the Government should take action—not provocative action, but firm action. There are three things the Government ought to make clear in the interests of the Convention and of Ireland. First, incitement to rebellion cannot be permitted. De Valera's language could have no other meaning. Ireland is a country with a very keen historical memory, a country which once made an appeal to Spain and to the French to assist them in winning for them liberties, and with this memory Germany comes along and says: 'We will give you arms;' and de Valera says: 'Germany will help us for her own interest, it is true, but if Germany comes along we will combine.' How could any Government pass that by without taking action? It is impossible. I go to the limits in taking risks for the sake of preserving the unity and the utility of the Convention. Forged at a Conference of its own sons it would be an enormous advantage to Ireland and an enormous advantage to the British Empire as well—all the more so that the Empire did not want any additional troubles at the present moment."

The words, "The Empire did not want any additional troubles at the present moment," contained a home truth which seems to have been lost on the Irish representatives at Westminster. The kernel of the British policy was to start a Convention to keep the Irish talking until the Empire had got over its present troubles, but whoever else was imposed upon de Valera was certainly not caught by "the sniff of a carrot." We will hear Mr. Lloyd George further:

"The first thing to prevent was direct incitement to rebellion. It was no use making pretences about these things, and those who listened to Mr. de Valera

knew exactly what he meant. Those who joined these processions and marched in military step and formed fours and put sticks on their shoulders as if they were rifles, have gymnastic exercises. All the drilling and the studying the mechanism of guns meant that they don't want to take half an hour to learn to fire them. At whom? Not at Britain's enemies, but at the heart of Britain itself. Anything which is part or parcel of rebellion must be stopped. What is going on in Ireland is a deliberate attempt to drill, to enlist, to organise hundreds of thousands of young men, who, had they been in this country, would have been compulsorily enlisted (for the Great War). The third point is that there is a good deal of talk among Sinn Feiners which did not mean Home Rule. It meant complete separation, and secession—Sovereign Independence. England could not accept that under any conditions. Sovereign Independence had never been claimed by Irish members."

The object of this reference to Sovereign Independence was, no doubt, to create the impression that de Valera was putting forward some sort of preposterous claim not previously heard of in the course of the Anglo-Irish struggle. Irishmen never aspired to less. Many of Ireland's parliamentary representatives hoped to reach the same end by degrees, but the progress was so slow and the road so crooked that those Irishmen, with the true instinct of patriotism, who grew up in each generation, preferred to attempt the straight path rather than stand the strain of continued disappointment. Parnell did not exclude Sovereign Independence when he said that he "would not set bounds to the march of a nation." Parnell and Redmond adopted constitutional means to carry their programme: Pearse and de Valera, seeing the failure of this, appealed to arms, but all, according to their own words, had the same end in view. Thomas Davis has furnished us with a well-reasoned judgment on the rival methods, from which it can be deduced that both lead to

the same goal, but that in the end the direct road would, perhaps, be the cheaper. "Agitation," he said, "is one means of redress, but it leads to much disorganisation, great unhappiness and wounds upon the soul of a country which sometimes are worse than the thinning of a people by war." Complete independence had always been the dearest hope of Irishmen, and if, as Mr. Lloyd George said, Irish *Members* did not mention the words "Sovereign Independence" we know at any rate that Irish *Men* did, and it would be an injustice to their names to allow his statement to go unchallenged or unexplained. Notwithstanding these attacks, de Valera still advanced and got the people to advance with him. Threats of war and punishment did not succeed in arresting the progress that was being made; in fact, if anything, the more Sinn Fein was struck at and put to the torture the stronger it grew.

On the 25th of October—two days after the delivery of Lloyd George's speech—the first great Sinn Fein Convention opened. There were 1,700 delegates present, representative of the four provinces of Ireland, and one of the most important items on the agenda was the election of President. For this position three distinguished names were mentioned—Arthur Griffith, Count Plunkett, and Eamonn de Valera. The enemies of Sinn Fein hoped for disagreement on the question of selecting a President, and long before the day arrived they had sinister reports set in motion, trusting by this means to bring about the disunion they desired. But their hopes were shattered. Count Plunkett and Arthur Griffith withdrew their names. Mr. Griffith, who had been six years President, after mentioning the number of engagements he had now to fulfil, pointed out that they would have in Mr. de Valera a man of cool judgment and a statesman as well as a soldier. De Valera was then unanimously elected President. Mr. Ginnell, in moving a vote of gratitude to Count Plunkett and Mr. Griffith, said, that it was noble conduct on the part of a man who had suffered so much for Ireland during Easter Week, to withdraw in favour of Ireland's best living

soldier: it was noble conduct, too, on the part of a man (Mr. Griffith) who, during the dark years when Ireland was in the lurch, had devoted his life to the evangelising of Ireland in the principles of Sinn Fein, to announce that he stood down. De Valera amidst great enthusiasm returned thanks to the Convention. He then went closely into details of organisation, which included arrangements for a probable general election.

The Convention had hardly closed when the air became suddenly charged with electric sparks, conveying messages of impending danger—of probable conflicts—of military preparations—of rebellion, all founded on the fact, it was said, that a few parades of Volunteers, similar to those held before Easter Week, had been arranged. It was much more likely, however, that the Government's anxiety was to be found in de Valera's success in Clare and his recent election to the Presidency of Sinn Fein. His speeches, too, couched in clear, deliberate and unmistakable language, instilled fear into the minds of those accustomed to the artificial utterances of the party politician.

A meeting announced for the 4th November, at Newbridge, at which de Valera was to speak, was proclaimed by the military authorities, acting, of course, on instructions. This did not prevent de Valera from conveying his message to the people, for, accompanied by Mr. Griffith, he went to the neighbouring town of Athy, where he received a great ovation from a large gathering representative of the best elements in Kildare. The day passed off quietly. But who was the evil adviser behind the Government? Did he really believe that de Valera's visit to Kildare was to be a signal for another rising? Were the authorities in a quandary as to the real state of affairs, or was it merely that their agent was hoaxed? The British Government would hardly resort to alarms of this kind for the purposes of propaganda! A week later Lord Wimborne referred to the situation in these terms:—

"The Government had been warned of a rising on the Sunday of last week, but *not a dog barked*, and if the advice

tendered had been accepted the Irish Convention would have been killed."

Several Members of Parliament were now asking why de Valera had not been arrested, and the British Press showed signs of uneasiness at the growth of what the *Daily Express* called "de Valera's new Irish Republican Army." So far as the desire to have de Valera under lock and key was concerned the Government required no prompting. A cell was ready for him, but his speeches, though claiming complete independence, coincided too closely with President Wilson's self-determination pronouncements, and with the Allies' profession of sympathy for small Nations, to admit of his arrest on this score. The Government required a more plausible excuse, but since de Valera had the faculty of giving to his speeches those exquisite and faultless touches reminiscent of President Wilson in his heyday, the custodians of D.O.R.A. did not find their wishes so easily gratified. The "German Plot" had not yet, of course, been hatched. Speaking at Loughrea of these demands for his arrest, de Valera said that if he were arrested there were a dozen men to take his place and still another dozen to follow. They would continue this if necessary until every young man was in prison, and the old men in whom the fighting spirit of the Land League existed, would be ready to step into their shoes. At this time all de Valera's published speeches bore the familiar imprint "Passed by Censor," so with the blue pencil cutting out whole paragraphs and dismembering others, the messages that reached the public were only distorted fragments of the original. At the same time the Government commanded a free channel through which it poured out an endless stream of "propaganda."

England had a two-fold object in view at this time. She would have the world believe that Sinn Fein was out, not alone against the Empire, but against the Allies as well, particularly France and America. Then she hinted at strong measures in the hope of weaning the more timid

from the cause that had for the first time placed Ireland in a proper light before other nations. In this latter campaign Mr. John Dillon, though in a different camp, was an ally of the Government, for he persistently endeavoured to estrange the people from the policy of Sinn Fein by pointing out the evil consequences that would follow should de Valera and his colleagues succeed,as was asserted, in wrecking the Convention. De Valera was not in the least annoyed or perturbed. He had far deeper insight than his opponents whether of the British Cabinet or the Irish Party. At a Manchester Martyrs' Commemoration Concert held at the Mansion House on the 24th November, at which the Countess Markievicz presided, he dealt in part with his critics. " I reiterate," he said, " what I have so often stated before, that if England is out for the cause of small nations she should prove it by giving Ireland freedom." He then made the prophecy which was fulfilled in a little over twelve months, that if there was a referendum the vast majority of the Irish people would declare for cutting adrift from England. Continuing, he said :—" England is now trying to misrepresent Ireland as she always had done, and was holding Irishmen up to France as a nation of shirkers, but we have no quarrel with France, and when these people talk of what we owe to France and America they should not forget that France and America owe this country something too." At Ballygar, two days later, he disposed of other points : " We will not," he declared, " be frightened by talk of poison gas, tanks, and armoured trains. We know only one limitation, and that is that our methods shall be in accordance with moral justice." He then made an important statement on the Irish Convention : " It is said that we are out to smash the Convention. We are not out to smash anything but the English connection. As far as the Irish people are concerned, we told them it was a trap, and we refused to walk into the spider's parlour. It is like playing with the trick-o'-the-loop man. John Bull has the two ends of the tape ; and when you are in he can

put you out, and when you are out he can put you in at his own will. If England wants to set up Home Rule she can do so without any Convention. Such a Convention is not necessary if England were in earnest. England can at any time settle the Ulster question. Sinn Fein has ignored the Convention, but she has not set to work to smash it. If England wants the Convention smashed Sir Edward Carson can do that at any time it is wanted. If anything comes out of the Convention which will further the cause of Irish Freedom, we have never said we will refuse payment on account unless it is intended to keep us out of our whole bill. So long as we are not asked to give up our principles, when we have a bird in the hand, we will consider it a bird in the hand, mind—so long as it does not put a boundary to the march of the Nation. Until the full account is paid to the last penny the Irish people will never be satisfied. We will do our best in our lifetime. We will not sell our birthright for a mess of pottage, and if we do not succeed we will pass on the fight as a sacred duty to those who come after us."

De Valera was understood, and he won. His enemies already showed signs of fatigue, if not defeat. British agents now began to pull down Sinn Fein flags from bushes and telegraph poles, and to deprive even little school girls of the Sinn Fein colours. Just as many thoughtful people read into the first battle of the Marne ultimate defeat for Germany, so, too, many people realised that England was losing her hold on Ireland when she was forced to take notice of such trifles. And there was another sign of defeat. When a political leader discards arguments for invective his days of power are numbered. The very moment that Mr. John Redmond and Mr. John Dillon found it necessary to buttress their position by the use of such terms as "soreheads," "cranks," "dreamers," etc., it became as clear as noon-day that de Valera had won. Statesmen who place the interests of the people above that of party will not shower reflections of this kind on those of their fellow-countrymen who cannot see

their way to agree with them. "Place the opposing view before the people and let them decide," was de Valera's motto. If, in a mad rush, the people trample on a just man they will later, provided he does not become unjust in the course of his fall, place him in the highest pedestal at their disposal. De Valera has shown that he possesses a power of restraint, when faced with opposition, far superior to that of any modern politician from Sir Edward Carson to President Wilson. It is certain that had he been in President Wilson's place he would never have addressed Congress in these words which, like the other cases quoted, indicated that their author was drifting towards the abyss: "I pay little heed," said President Wilson, "to those who think that America does not know what the war is about. I hear voices of dissent and the criticism and clamour of the noisy, thoughtless and troublesome, and I see men here and there flinging themselves against the calm, indomitable power of the Nation, and I hear men discuss peace who neither understand its nature nor the way in which it might be attained, but none of them speak for the Nation. They might be safely left strut their uneasy hour."

The year 1918 opened with the conscription question looming menacingly over the heads of the Irish people. The extreme Tory element in the Lords and Commons called for the immediate application of the Conscription Act to Ireland, but however willing and anxious to comply, the Government dreaded a conflict with the people, and under various pretexts conveniently postponed the matter from month to month, hoping, like Micawber, that something might turn up. And well might the Government have paused, for never in the whole history of the country were the people more determined to resist, by force of arms if necessary, the application of an Act which was a complete usurpation of the people's rights and a distinct violation of the moral law. "Our position is clear and unmistakable," said de Valera, "uncompromised and uncompromisable. We repudiate every claim of England, not alone

to impose conscription here against the expressed will of the people, but to make laws for us, good or bad." On the 14th of January Sir Auckland Geddes, on behalf of the Government, announced that the Military Service Act would not for the present be applied to Ireland, but Sir Hamar Greenwood, not yet famous for his Black-and-Tans, declared that Ireland ultimately, voluntarily or compulsorily must take its stand on the side of the *Allies*. (What a multitude of sins the word "Allies" covered).

The Irish Party claimed credit for warding off conscription, but everybody knew that if it suited England's purpose she would ignore Ireland's representatives now as she had always done, and knowing this the people flocked to de Valera's standard. Speaking at Dundalk, de Valera said that the Irish Volunteers were the greatest security against an attempt to enforce conscription and against an attack by England, and he repeated that ten-foot pikes in their hands were a far greater guarantee that they would not be conscripted than all the eloquence of the eighty M.P.'s in the British House of Commons.

On the 6th of March, amidst the uncertainty of a serious situation, the people received the sad news of Mr. John Redmond's death, and although he had compromised his position somewhat too freely in the latter part of his career, opponents as well as friends paid a tribute to his apparent honesty of purpose. The elevation of Mr. John Dillon to the leadership of the Irish Party did not now signify as much as it would have done a few years previously, for, virtually, de Valera was already at the head of the nation. In Roscommon, Longford, Clare and Kilkenny Sinn Fein had got an earnest of its future success. But true to tradition, the evil genius in the Government, now secretly and openly busied itself with plans for the destruction of not alone de Valera and the Sinn Fein movement, but for the complete annihilation of the national spirit. Anyone acquainted with the history of Ireland would have known that this was beyond the power of England. Yet there were men at Dublin Castle who, having read about

Napoleon, dreamt that they possessed his power and military talent. Dwarfs themselves, they were still dwarfs in spite of the powerful nation that sustained them, but they had, nevertheless, the means of inflicting punishment on a brave people. On St. Patrick's Day a meeting announced to be held in Belfast was proclaimed. The Government, piqued at the idea of de Valera attempting to address a Belfast audience, feigned alarm and sent a strong force of police to suppress the meeting. This did not deter de Valera from going to the northern capital. The Government always made a great show at complying with its own law. The proclamation precluded meetings on St. Patrick's Day only. De Valera, however, outwitted the authorities by holding his meeting the night before, but as he completed on the stroke of twelve the sentence : "The spirit that outlived centuries of oppression would not be stamped out by the Cromwells of to-day," the platform was stormed by a strong body of police led by four stalwart Inspectors. The meeting was brought to a close after a short and sharp conflict in which both police and civilians came to grief, but de Valera had achieved his purpose.

At last, in face of the most solemn warning, and in defiance of all the principles of justice, the Government decided on extending the Conscription Act to Ireland, thereby perpetrating or, as it so happened, attempting to perpetrate one of the greatest crimes against the honour and freedom of another Nation that a foreign power could be guilty of. On the 9th of April, 1918, Mr. Lloyd George proposed the extension of the Act to Ireland in these peculiar words which enshrine the germs of England's traditional policy of courting Ireland's leaders to-day and betraying them to-morrow, according as it suited her purpose :—"The character of the quarrel in which we are engaged is," he said, "as much Irish as English, and the Irish representatives voted for the war, and Ireland through its representatives, without a dissentient voice, committed this Empire to the war." This was a pretty

sharp turn on the Irish representatives at Westminster who had made the road easy for the Government on so many occasions. It reminds one of Lord Castlereagh, who once said of the informers: "How I long to kick those whom duty compels me to court." The Irish Party was at the time endeavouring to regain some of its lost strength and waning popularity. In doing so it came in the Government's way for the moment and was sacrificed. No one acquainted with the history of English politics would expect anything better; but if this hit at the Irish Party, when it required succour, taught a well-deserved lesson to those who placed confidence in the fidelity of Englishmen, it gave on the other hand further proof—if proof were necessary—of the wisdom of the Sinn Fein policy. The futility, if not the danger, of sending representatives to the British House of Commons became apparent even to the most earnest upholders of the Parliamentary machine. The British Premier's declaration of war on the Irish people produced a result not anticipated by the Government: it brought fresh recruits to the ranks of Sinn Fein. The new situation had no terrors for de Valera. "Conscription," he said a few days later, "is only a glaring example of that usurpation of our national rights with which we have had constantly to contend. Sinn Fein will, calmly, in the full consciousness of the justice of its cause resist conscription." There was no blowing of horns or sounding of trumpets in this statement. De Valera said deliberately, but in simple language, that "Sinn Fein would calmly, in the full consciousness of the justice of its cause, resist conscription"; yet these words, typical of their author, created more fear in Government circles than one hundred speeches of the flamboyant school of oratory, where close examination usually discloses sound merely and no substance.

Since unity of action was of paramount importance in the coming fight, steps were immediately taken to bring the different leaders together. On the 8th of April the

Mansion House Conference held its first sitting, with the following representatives in attendance :—

Sinn Fein :—Mr. Eamonn de Valera ; Mr. Arthur Griffith.
Irish Party :—Mr. John Dillon ; Mr. Joseph Devlin.
Independent :— Mr. Wm. O'Brien ; Mr. T. M. Healy.
Labour :—Mr. Wm. O'Brien (Dublin) ; Mr. Thos. Johnson ; Mr. M. Egan.

The representative nature of the Conference augured well for the success of the campaign against conscription, and confidence, already high, was increased when it became known that de Valera and four other members had been appointed to proceed at once to Maynooth, to wait on the Bishops who were there assembled. Some of their Lordships, who had not previously met de Valera, and whose views did not fully coincide with his, were highly impressed by his arguments. The Government anticipated a certain amount of opposition -even stern opposition—but there was one thing they did not anticipate, and that was the notable declaration against conscription issued by the Bishops from Maynooth. The Bishops, in the course of a statement on conscription, said : " Denying the right of the British Government to enforce compulsory service in this country, we pledge ourselves solemnly to one another to resist conscription by the most effective means at our disposal." This declaration, while causing consternation amongst the advocates of conscription, brought renewed strength and hope to the people. Apart from the work of the Conference, de Valera went on perfecting his own plans. He held frequent consultations with the Volunteer officers ; and while the Conference might do much by presenting a united front to the enemy and by way of passive resistance, yet it was on the officers and men of the Irish Volunteers that Ireland placed its trust. As de Valera entered and left the Mansion House he was surrounded by cheering crowds. The cause he represented and the manner in which he did it called forth the

admiration of young and old. The reception accorded him everywhere was, perhaps, as much an index to the feelings of the people on the question at issue, as enthusiasm for a popular leader. The authorities should now have had sufficient warning, but they were unable to read the sign-posts; they went on testing the Irish armour for the usual weak points, but for the first time found none; they alternately advanced and retired: they held out simultaneously the olive branch and the sword. While they feared a conflict with the people, every action of theirs tended to promote the ill-feeling necessary for such a conflict; they hesitated, they prevaricated, but never for a moment called to their aid the simple word "justice." The Irish people wanted to live their own life unfettered and undisturbed. In his fight for this ideal de Valera had the support of all classes and creeds. The working man, who, through the centuries of oppression, political and religious, was always ready to make sacrifices for God and country, now showed renewed vigour, and as a mark of his determination to resist conscription, declared a one day's cessation from work all over Ireland. The admirable success and rapidity of action with which this decree was given effect was a lesson in itself.

But what was the Irish Party's attitude on the subject? Many of its leading members, even while the Mansion House Conference still functioned, endeavoured to use the passing of the Act as a weapon to beat de Valera. They insinuated and even asserted that he was responsible for all of Ireland's ills. And if they did not succeed in doing immense harm, the Irish people alone who stood firm by de Valera in spite of a series of well-planned attacks—given in the guise of advice—must be thanked. Here is how Mr. Dillon put the matter before the people:—"What brought conscription on Ireland? It was the proceedings in Clare last January and February—the marchings and drillings. De Valera boasted that he could call 500,000 well-drilled Irishmen to his banner. The military marched troops to Clare and said: 'Look at

what we have done in Clare! We can conscript Ireland as easily as we have tamed Clare.'" Of course neither Clare nor any other part of Ireland had been tamed, and Mr. Dillon's statement was merely a reflex of a mind that had lost touch with Irish affairs through association with the British Parliament. It is not desirable, perhaps, to quote too freely from election speeches which are delivered in the heat of the moment, and least of all would one like to do so in the case of Mr. Dillon, who did so much valuable work for Ireland in his younger days, but one cannot help contrasting his remarks on Clare with the noble words uttered by de Valera, whom he tried to misrepresent. Speaking at Waterford on the 14th March, 1918, de Valera, in supporting the Sinn Fein candidate, said :—"I ask you to do nothing which will enable our enemies to scoff at us. We must, above all things, conduct ourselves as Irishmen, for we believe in toleration for the opinions of our countrymen, and in all our elections we have shown that we are anxious to have the views of both sides put before the electorate, in order that they might judge of the rival policies and vote accordingly." As a political headline this advice could hardly be surpassed; but unfortunately it was met by advice of a different brand, as a result of which the opponent of Sinn Fein secured a temporary victory.

Encouraged by Captain Redmond's success at Waterford, the Government secretly pushed forward its plans for the removal of de Valera and the other Sinn Fein leaders. With America and most of the English Colonies strongly on the side of Ireland, it was not considered diplomatic to arrest and deport these men without a good and plausible excuse, so some highly paid official put his "Pelmanism" to the test and discovered the now famous "German Plot." This was given to the world by Lord French (new Viceroy) and Mr. Shortt, Chief Secretary, in a proclamation published on Saturday, 18th May, 1918.

The Proclamation was as follows :—

"Whereas it has come to our knowledge that certain

subjects of His Majesty the King domiciled in Ireland, have conspired to enter into and have entered into treasonable communication with the German enemy; and whereas such treachery is a menace to the fair fame of Ireland and its glorious military record, a record which is a source of intense pride to a country whose sons have always distinguished themselves and fought with such heroic valour in the past, in the same way as thousands of them are now fighting in this War; And whereas drastic measures must be taken to put down this *German Plot*, which measures will be solely directed against that plot: now therefore we, the Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, have thought fit to issue this *Our Proclamation*, declaring and it is hereby declared as follows:—That it is the duty of all loyal subjects of His Majesty to assist in every way His Majesty's Government in Ireland to suppress this treasonable conspiracy and to defeat the treacherous attempt of the Germans to defame the honour of Irishmen for their own ends: That we hereby call upon all loyal subjects of His Majesty in Ireland to aid in crushing the said conspiracy and so far as in them lies to assist in securing the effective prosecution of the War and the welfare and safety of the Empire. That as a means to this end we shall cause still further steps to be taken to facilitate and encourage voluntary enlistment in Ireland in His Majesty's forces in the hope that, without resort to compulsion, the contribution of Ireland to these forces may be brought up to its proper strength and made to correspond to the contributions of other parts of the Empire."

On the night preceding the publication of this Proclamation a sudden sweep was made on the Sinn Fein leaders in Dublin and throughout the country, and all those upon whom it was possible to lay hands were arrested and deported. De Valera was arrested as he alighted at Greystones from the 10.15 p.m. train from Dublin. Arthur

Griffith, Count Plunkett, T.D., Darrell Figgis, Madam Markievicz, etc., were amongst those taken, but there were many on the list who could not be found when the Crown Forces arrived. The purpose of the German Plot was two-fold, viz.:—To place Ireland in an evil light before the Allies, and by the removal of de Valera and his colleagues to make the way easy for conscription. The authorities believed that they had now removed the only obstacle in their way. They were mistaken. The conflict was with the spirit of the Nation and not with individuals. That spirit had reasserted itself generation after generation. Sometimes when it lay dormant the enemies of Ireland rushed to the graveside thinking all was over, only to find, in the words of the song, "that the spirit still lives on." In the arrest of de Valera and his companions the Government had seen the blossoms but not the buds. Indeed the arrest and deportation of Irishmen on the strength of this Proclamation was simply outrageous. These men had not attacked England or Scotland or Wales, or any of the British Dominions over the Seas. They claimed for Ireland the right to manage her own affairs in her own way without outside interference of any kind—that was all. Perhaps Professor Kuno Meyer was thinking as much of Ireland as Germany when he said that the old saying:—"Scratch a Russian and you will find a Tartar," was much more applicable to an Englishman who, on close acquaintance, revealed himself as a barbarian of the purest water.

The arrest of Mr. de Valera and Mr. Griffith did not interrupt the Mansion House Conference. Sinn Fein was ready for all eventualities, and within a few hours of the arrests substitutes were appointed to fill their places. It is interesting to quote some specimens of English journalism on the arrests. Two such specimens selected more on account of the peculiar ideas propounded than for severity of language, of which there were better examples, will suffice:—

Daily Telegraph:—"The arrested persons have been seized at a single stroke, and we heartily congratulate

the Government on the fact that, having determined at last to put an end to open treason in Ireland, they have cast their net wide. *But it is not enough to deprive these conspirators of the liberty which they have so foully abused.*"

The Globe (*London*) :—" If the suspects were natives of Great Britain we know very well what course would be taken. They would be tried by special tribunal, and if found guilty the principal ringleaders would be hanged and the rest sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment."

Of course if they were " natives of Great Britain " and betrayed Great Britain many Irishmen would wish them no better fate. The authorities appeared to be very anxious to justify the arrests, not indeed that they felt that any explanation was due to Ireland, or that English opinion required one, but owing to external causes well known to the British Foreign Office. The following explanation, which consists of a conglomeration of incidents and events cemented together with a special mixture for which Dublin Castle was famous, was, therefore, issued through the Press Bureau :—

" The revolutionary movement in Ireland, which culminated in the arrest of a number of persons last week consisted of two closely related series of activities :—

(*a*) The attempts of the German Government to foment rebellion in Ireland, and

(*b*) The preparations made in Ireland to carry those attempts into action.

The story of the active connection between the leaders of the Sinn Fein movement and the Germans, as disclosed by documents in the possession of the British Government, falls into two parts, the period prior to and the period since the abortive Irish Rebellion of Easter, 1916. The events of the first period can be told with some detail, but the second period, which concerns recent events, permits of no more than a summary as a full statement of the facts

and documents in possession of the Government would disclose the names of persons who stood by the Government, and also the channels of communication through which the German Government was acting, and which it would not be in the public interest to reveal at present.

"The story begins as early in the War as November 6, 1914, when Herr Zimmerman transmitted, through Count Bernsdorff, a message from Casement asking that a messenger, if possible a native born American, be sent to Ireland with word that everything was favourable. He was to carry no letter for fear of arrest.

Casement also asked that an Irish priest be sent to Germany, with the assistance of the German Legation in Norway, to work in prison camps and corrupt Irish prisoners of war. This priest was a certain Father John T. Nicholson, an American citizen of Irish birth. He reached Germany safely, and we find him in January, 1915, transmitting messages to America, according to a report of Capt. von Papen, dated December 5, 1914. The verbal assurance sent in response to Casement's request had produced an excellent impression in Ireland.

"In the beginning of 1916 the plot ripened; on February 10 Count Bernsdorff sent to a covering address in Rotterdam a despatch signed with the name of Skal, one of his principal American agents. This despatch included an extract from a report of John Devoy, the head of the Clanna-Gael, to the effect that action in Ireland could not be postponed much longer, since he feared the arrest of the leaders. It had been decided, he said, to begin action on Easter Saturday, and he urged that the arms and munitions must be in Limerick by that date.

"Later, in the same month, Count Bernsdorff, following his usual practice, surreptitiously attached to a message in Berlin, passed by the American Government a note fixing Easter Saturday for the rising, and urging the despatch of the munitions in time.

"On March 4 Von Jagow replied that the arms would be landed in Tralee Bay, and asked that the necessary

arrangements should be made in Ireland, through Devoy. On March 14 Bernsdorff replied that the Irish agreed, and that full details were being sent to Ireland by messenger.

"Next day Bernsdorff telegraphed a code to be used between the Germans and the rebels while the arms were in transit, and explained that a submarine might safely enter Dublin Bay and go as far as the Pigeon House without encountering nets.

"On March 26 Von Jagow replied that the arms would be sent and that a special code would be used every night as an introduction to the German Wireless press service.

"In a message from Bernsdorff to Berlin the Germans were assured that there were numerous private wireless receiving stations in Ireland. On April 18 and 19 messages were sent from America to Berlin fixing the delivery of the arms for the evening of Easter Sunday, pressing for the landing of German troops, and asking for an air raid on England and a naval attack on the English coast.

"These attacks actually took place between April 24 and 27. It was the declared hope of the rebels and their German and American friends to blockade the Irish ports against England and establish bases in Ireland for German submarines. The Rebellion broke out a day later than the scheduled time, on Easter Monday, April 24, but, as the world is aware, the German support had miscarried and it ended in complete failure.

"The report of the Royal Commission on the rebellion stated :—'It is now a matter of common notoriety that the Volunteers have been in communication with the authorities in Germany, and were for a long time known to be supplied with money through Irish-American Societies.

"This was stated in public by Mr. John McNeill on November 8th, 1914. It was suspected long before the outbreak that some of the money came from German sources. The evidence on this subject in the possession of the British Government provides the clearest proof of these suspicions.

"It became clear very soon after the rising that the Sinn Fein leaders were again asking Germany for help. On June 17 there was a message from Berlin to Washington referring to A259 of May 6 (a message which is missing), and saying that Germany was perfectly ready to give further help if the Irish would only say what sort of help they required.

"On June 16 Bernsdorff had already sent a despatch giving an account of the rebellion, as far as his information went, and stating that £1,000 had been provided for the defence of Casement. On July 25 he sent a long message giving further news from Ireland and explaining that the work of reorganising the rebels was making good progress, and their lack of money had been remedied by him.

"On September 8, in a despatch to Berlin, he enclosed a memorandum from a person called 'Irish Revolution Director, resident in America,' which contained detailed proposals for a fresh rising. Any rising, says the Irish Revolution Director, must be contingent upon the sending by Germany of 'an expedition with a sufficient military force to cover the landing.'

"On this new occasion the German Government was to fix the time and, as an inducement, the advantage of having submarine and Zeppelin bases in the West of Ireland was insisted upon. Count Bernsdorff was evidently having difficulty with his tools, for, on October 24, he warned his Government not to allow a certain Captain Boehm, then resident in Rotterdam, to write to Irishmen in America, since the letters were apt to go to the wrong people. Later, Captain Boehm was arrested by us in British waters.

"On December 4 we find Count Bernsdorff again attacking, surreptitiously, a note to a message passed by the American Government, in which he mentioned that the Irish leaders in America were pressing for an answer to their proposal of September 8. He seems to have followed this on Christmas Day with a message which is missing. On December 31, 1916, Herr Zimmerman informed him of the quantities of munitions which it was proposed to

land between February 21 and 25, 1917. He added that it was impossible to send German troops.

"On January 18, 1917, Bernsdorff replied that his Irish Committee declined the proposal, as without German troops a rising would be useless. After America's entrance into the war on April 4, 1917, the line of communication between the German Government and the leaders of the Sinn Fein party was temporarily broken, though there is no reason to believe that the messenger service devised by John Devoy between America and Ireland was affected.

"A clue to the new line of communication was subsequently obtained, and has been actively followed up.

"The effect of this new line in Ireland is visible in the speeches of the Sinn Fein leaders during this period. For example, de Valera, addressing the Convention of Irish Volunteers on October 27, 1917, said:—'By proper organisation and recruiting they could have 500,000 fighting volunteers in Ireland.' That would be a big army, but without the opportunity and the means of fighting it could only be used as a menace.

"There had already been too much bloodshed without success, and he would never advocate another rebellion without hopeful chances of success. They could see no hope of that in the near future, except through a German invasion of England and the landing of troops and munitions in Ireland. They should be prepared to leave nothing undone towards that end!

"On another occasion in January this year de Valera said:—'So long as Germany is the enemy of England, and England the enemy of Ireland, so long will Ireland be the friend of Germany.' For some considerable time it was difficult to obtain accurate information as to the German Sinn Fein plans, but about April, 1918, it was definitely ascertained that the plan for landing arms in Ireland was ripe, and that the Germans only awaited definite information from Ireland as to the time, place and date.

"The British authorities were able to warn the Irish

Command regarding the probable landing of an agent from Germany from a submarine. The agent actually landed on April 12, and was arrested. The new rising depended largely upon the landing of munitions from submarines, and there is evidence to show that it was planned to follow a successful German offensive in the west, and to take place at a time when Great Britain would be presumably stripped of troops. According to documents found on his person de Valera had worked out in great detail the constitution of his rebel army, and hoped to be able to muster half a million trained men. There is evidence that German munitions were actually shipped on submarines at Cuxhaven at the beginning of May, and that for some time German submarines had been busy off the west coast of Ireland on other errands than the destruction of Allied shipping. It will thus be seen that negotiations between the Executive of the Sinn Fein organisation and Germany have been virtually continued for 3½ years. At first a section of the Irish-Americans was the intermediary for most of the discussions, but since America's entrance into the war communications with the enemy have tended to be more direct.

"A second rising in Ireland was planned for last year, and the scheme broke down only because Germany was unable to send troops. This year plans for another rising in connection with the German offensive on the Western Front were maturing and a new shipment of arms from Germany was imminent. An important feature in every plan was the establishment of submarine bases in Ireland to menace the shipping of all nations.

"In these circumstances no other course was open to the Government, if useless bloodshed was to be avoided and its duty to the Allies fulfilled, but to intern the authors and abettors of this criminal intrigue."

The incidents raked up in this statement were required as a colouring for the Government's designs. It was a case of *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*. But if any doubt existed in the minds of the people regarding the matter

it was dispelled by Lord Wimborne, who stated that when quitting the office of Viceroy a short time previously he was not aware of the existence of the alleged plot. Even the *Morning Post*, always a bitter opponent of Ireland's claims, did not believe in the theory of a plot. It saw in de Valera's arrest a change of policy for which an excuse was required and no more. It said :—" Why the prisoners should have been released and allowed to remain so long at large passes our comprehension. The Government *is anxious to justify their present imprisonment.* De Valera himself being now in an English jail had no opportunity of either seeing or refuting the misrepresentations set in motion about him, but his views as expressed later bore out the accuracy of the following statement dictated for the Dublin Press by a prominent Sinn Feiner immediately after the " proofs " were issued by the Government.

Discretions, oversights and omissions in the " proofs."

" The main part deals with events prior to Easter Week, 1916. Many of the men arrested on Friday week were well known to have had no connection with the events of that period ; others were amongst those sentenced or interned for complicity in the rebellion and amnestied last year, and the Government's statement makes mention of :—

(*a*) Certain negotiations entered into by Roger Casement.

(*b*) Landing of arms in Ireland in connection with the insurrection of 1916. Both these matters are, and have been for many months, well known to the Irish people and the British Government. Roger Casement and the men associated with him have been executed for their connection with these events. Why resurrect these things at this stage to re-convict men who have been amnestied ? (*Nemo debet bis puniri pro uno delicto*—Law Max.) The part dealing with

events subsequent to Easter Week, 1916, has for its outstanding feature a missing document referred to as A259 in a letter bearing the date 17th June, 1917, a date *anterior* to the release of the prisoners, including Messrs. de Valera, M'Guinness, Cosgrave, M'Garry, Hayes, M'Entee, Lawless, Hunter, Etchingham, Fahy, Davy, Coleman, and Madame Markievicz—all now re-arrested. If there was a plot at that time these persons could not have been concerned with the arrangements. In view of this glaring dishonesty, people will not be inclined to treat seriously the references to plans for a rising made by the "Irish Revolution Director resident in America." The very name savours of Le Caron, and will bring a cynical smile to the lips of everyone who has studied the ways of English intrigue. Of course the plans are not given, yet their publication could not endanger the safety of the realm. The next point in the proof is mention of an arms landing between February 21 and February 25, 1917—dates, like the other, anterior to the release of the Irish prisoners from Lewes. The document relating to this landing is also missing. In connection with this landing Bernstorff is mentioned as having received a reply from his Government that German troops could not be landed. Owing to this it is alleged that the Irish Committee declined the munitions. Irish Committee is another of those mystery names beloved of the Le Carons and his breed. An alleged utterance by de Valera at a Volunteer Convention is given as part of the plot. I was present at that Convention, with 500 others, and have consulted with many of them as to the exactness of the words given. We are all agreed that the statement as it appears is a glaring misquotation.

The public can rest assured that the documents found on Mr. de Valera were no more than the following :—

(*a*) Scheme of organisation of the Irish Volunteers.
(*b*) Notes on Ireland's case for the Peace Conference.
(*c*) Notes on Ireland's case against Conscription.

The whole thing is a sham. The Government case rests either upon missing documents or statements unsupported by any proof whatever. It is clearly an attack upon the Sinn Fein organisation because that is feared by the Government. The British Government has published a document to blacken us in the eyes of the Nations. That is the plot—an English plot against the Irish Nation."

With de Valera in Frongoch Prison, to which place he was sent immediately after arrest, the Government thought it expedient to resume voluntary recruiting. But, now as always, they were unable to understand the Irish temperament. If there was one way in which recruits could not be obtained that way was by the use of coercion. And strange to relate this was the very system of recruiting that recommended itself to the Government. It seems paradoxical to speak of obtaining *voluntary* recruits by *coercion*, yet in Ireland we have witnessed this strange phenomenon. So many thousand men were demanded within a certain date, with a fixed monthly quota to follow. If these were not forthcoming the Conscription Act was to be enforced at all costs. Therefore, the Government were to have the men in one way or the other, and to talk of voluntary recruiting in the circumstances was only all pretence. Then again, free speech was denied during this campaign of voluntary recruiting; meetings were suppressed; and anybody who dared utter a word of advice or caution to those young men whom the Recruiting Sergeant diligently sought, was arrested and imprisoned. De Valera had made sure, however, that the young men of Ireland understood the position, so it really did not matter whether the Government adopted coercion or peaceful means—they were not to have the recruits. As a matter

of fact the Government action had an effect opposite to that desired : those who were wanted for the British Army joined the Irish Volunteers instead, and thousands of pounds that might have been attracted across to England by the inflated dividends of the day, were diverted to the Mansion House Conference and to other Irish purposes. A little over a week after the deportation of Mr. de Valera the Lord Lieutenant issued his voluntary recruiting proclamation. It was divided into six numbered paragraphs as follows :—

1. In pursuance of our offer we now make our offer which, if successful, will ensure that Ireland will play her part fully and freely in the world struggle for liberty. The offer we make is that Ireland should voluntarily furnish the number of men required to establish an equitable ratio when compared with all other parts of the Empire.
2. In order to establish that ratio Ireland can fairly be asked to raise 50,000 recruits before October 1st to replenish the Irish divisions in the field, and after that date to raise 2,000 to 3,000 recruits per month in order to maintain those divisions. That is what we ask Ireland to do.
3. We wish to make it quite clear to everyone that there is no intention of disturbing farming interests, or food production, or to do anything that would hamper or curtail the essential industry of the country. It is not expected that many of the rural population will be available for military purposes. The Government look almost entirely to the large number of young men in the towns, far greater than is required to carry on ordinary retail trade, to furnish the necessary contingent.
4. As was done in England, Scotland and Wales, we propose first to call up the younger men and those who can best be spared to come forward to fight for their motherland. The limit of age in the

present appeal is, therefore, fixed at 18 to 27. This is not intended to preclude older men from coming forward who may be specially fitted for military service or animated with a desire to serve their country in the field.

5. We recognise that men who come forward and fight for their Motherland are entitled to share in all that their Motherland can offer. Steps are, therefore, being taken to ensure, as far as possible, that land shall be available for men who have fought for their country, and the necessary legislative measure is now under consideration.

6. Full details with regard to pay, separation allowance, pensions, etc., will be published in due course. The work of recruiting will be in civilian hands, and steps will be taken to secure that fair play shall be meted out to all.

This was a very nicely worded Proclamation, and the bait held out in paragraph 5 was, no doubt, tempting, but from paragraph 2 it did not appear as if much land would be required. It did not require a mathematician of de Valera's standing to see the purport of this Proclamation. It was apparent to anybody of ordinary intelligence, but, lest there should be any mistake, de Valera had taken good care before his imprisonment to divert our thoughts along the proper channel. Everybody knew, except the Government, that not even 50 recruits, much less 50,000, would be forthcoming by October 1st. But as the opposition to conscription and the feeling against recruiting continued to gain fresh momentum events of the highest importance to Ireland as well as to the outside world, were about to take final shape. The Great War was soon to end. On the 12th of October Germany accepted President Wilson's 14 points; on the 9th November the Kaiser abdicated; and at 11 a.m. on November 11th the last shot of the war was fired.

On the cessation of hostilities the Conscription issue vanished: but the next month brought forth another issue of great importance. The Irish people, as a whole, were to have an opportunity of placing on record their views on the principles advocated by Sinn Fein. The verdict was one of overwhelming approval. Not alone did the people approve of past actions, but they were practically unanimous in giving Sinn Fein a mandate to continue the fight for Irish Independence. Without that mandate de Valera and his comrades would have been much handicapped in the severe struggle that was to follow. Every man and every woman who voted Sinn Fein at the General Election of December, 1918, placed fresh wreaths on the graves of those who died for Ireland, brought joy to those who were suffering in English prisons, and caused Irish exiles to feel proud of their Motherland. The result of that election bore out the wisdom of de Valera's parting words as he was being hurried, a prisoner, out of Ireland. "Be calm and confident," he said to those who stood on the beach as he disappeared amidst glittering bayonets. Referring to these words the Most Rev. Dr. Fogerty said: "de Valera's parting words represent what that wise, brave and upright leader considers to be the right policy for young Ireland." A persistent call was now made for the release of the prisoners. On the 7th January, 1919, no less than 100 public meetings were held throughout Ireland for this purpose, but while the Government remained obdurate to all demands for release, de Valera quietly took the matter into his own hands, and on the 3rd of February the glad tidings were received that he had escaped from prison.

CHAPTER V.

THE escape of de Valera from Lincoln created a great sensation. In Ireland the news was naturally received with jubilation; in England however it was regarded as a serious blow to the plans as well as the prestige of the Government. Indeed there were Englishmen, and not a few, who professed to be ashamed of a Government which allowed itself to be outwitted on English soil by the wily Irish arch-rebel. So dramatic an escape could not fail to attract attention to Ireland's case, and in spite of English influence foreign journalists began to be interested in de Valera and his movements. Every scrap of information that could be gleaned about him was cabled to all parts of the world. Even in Paris M. Andre Niolles, a leading journalist, turned aside from the Peace Conference itself to seek an interview with Sean T. O'Kelly on the subject of de Valera's escape. Addressing the Irish Republican Envoy, he asked: "How did de Valera escape?" "All I can say," replied Mr. O'Kelly, "is that the escape took a long time and a lot of trouble. Lincoln Jail, where he was imprisoned, was closely watched both by civil and military guards. De Valera was not allowed to see any visitors, not even his wife, for nine months." Yet in spite of all these precautions he contrived to escape. It occurred in this way. De Valera succeeded in getting an impression of the key of the jail door on candle wax. At this time the prisoners were allowed to send what looked like humorous picture postcards to their friends in Ireland. One of these cards was made to represent a drunken man trying to fit a key to

the lock of a door, on the previous Christmas, with the words "I can't get in" written underneath. Another card showed a man trying to fit a key to a prison door with the heading "I can't get out." The British officials closely scrutinised the two post cards, but having become immersed in the humour of the productions, as was anticipated, failed to observe the real meaning of the message. The post cards, which contained an actual illustration of the key and an indication of the purpose for which it was required, were, indeed, very cleverly designed to fulfil the purpose in view.

The prisoners were faced with the difficulty of making the message intelligible to their friends in Ireland while at the same time not making it clear enough to be understood by the British officials. Some hope had, of course, to be placed on the fact that some of the officials concerned were known to be rather dull of comprehension, and would likely be unable to catch the allusion. But though the English failed to see anything but a good joke in the cards, the purport of the message was quickly realised in Ireland and a master key was at once prepared. This key was smuggled into the jail baked in a cake. Michael Collins and Harry Boland were on the scene at the proper moment with an automobile, and when, with the aid of the key, de Valera and his companions got out through the back door of the prison, the whole party moved swiftly to a prearranged destination. And the newspapers were as curious as to his whereabouts as they were anxious for information regarding the manner of his escape. The French Paper, *L'Information*, stated that he was in Paris, having reached France *viâ* Holland. One English paper said he had gone to America to meet President Wilson; another that he reached the Continent from an English port; while the *Daily Chronicle*, in referring to a round-up of civilians in the north of Co. Dublin, claimed that the object was the capture of de Valera, who was reported to be in that neighbourhood. Thus, within four days of his escape, de Valera was variously reported to have been

seen at places as widely apart as Grimsby, Skibbereen, Newcastle, Queenstown, Gravesend, Glasgow, Dublin, London, and Paris.

Meanwhile the Government, while outwardly displaying little concern, was straining every nerve to secure the recapture of the fugitive. A whole army of detectives was on his track. Every avenue of escape was closely watched. No one was more active in the pursuit than the Governor of the prison. As the officer primarily responsible for the safe custody of the prisoner, he felt it incumbent on him to take immediate steps to prevent de Valera's escape out of Lincoln and to effect his recapture, if still in the city. A house to house search was accordingly instituted, particular attention being paid to the residences of Irishmen. He is said to have, at the same time offered a reward of £5 for the apprehension of de Valera or either of the two prisoners who escaped with him. This would seem a small sum to offer for the recapture of one or more of the three rebels, but the Governor, no doubt, thought it quite a sufficient deduction from his not over extravagant war bonus. The smallness of the reward reminds us of the escape of Mr. Winston Churchill from Pretoria, during the Boer War, when £25 was promised for his recapture; but we have not had an opportunity of learning whether or not de Valera's views on the insignificance of the sum offered coincided with those of Mr. Churchill, who said: "I have been in jail; I have been a fugitive from justice; and all that was offered for my capture, dead or alive, was a paltry Five and Twenty Pounds." But neither the Governor nor the Government, with all its resources, was able to track down the fugitive; no trace of the "tall thin man with the light brown eyes" could be discovered. The Government then sought to make light of the whole affair, and, by the liberation of the rest of the Sinn Fein prisoners, to create the impression that de Valera's further detention was, in any case, only a matter of a few weeks. Thus was England's magnanimity to be held up to the admiring gaze of the world, while, in her secret heart, she

wished for nothing better than to hold the Irish leader securely under lock and key until the fate of small nations had been satisfactorily disposed of at the Peace Conference.

De Valera after his escape first broke silence in a message to the Irish people which was read at a meeting of the Ard-Chomhairle of Sinn Fein by Father O'Flanagan in the following terms:—"I have escaped from Lincoln to do the country's work and I am doing it." Shortly afterwards a mild sensation was created by the sudden appearance at a concert at the Mansion House, and the equally sudden disappearance, escorted by Volunteers, of Mr. Sean MacGarry, who had escaped from Lincoln at the same time as de Valera. This was the first indication that the Sinn Fein leader had probably reached Ireland. Reports of interviews with him now began to appear in English and other foreign journals. It is a remarkable thing—and it speaks well for Sinn Fein—that while the smartest detectives in the employment of the British Government were unable to trace his whereabouts, American, French, and even English journalists succeeded in obtaining these interviews. The interviews were, of course, very cautiously arranged. They usually took place after sunset, and the journalists were never allowed a glimpse of the surrounding country. They would not be in a position to describe even the external appearance of the house in which the interviews had taken place. "Through midnight darkness a swift car took me to the leader," said Mr. A. E. Copping of the *Daily Chronicle*. "De Valera is a pleasant man to talk to. The familiar photograph carries a slightly forbidding suggestion that is wholly misleading. His is the face of a man that has known much nervous strain and physical suffering, but, as he talks, a very human light beacons from his eyes and now and then a little humorous smile plays around his mouth." Mr. Ross of the Associated Press of America was another journalist who secured one of these midnight interviews. He gives us de Valera's views on President Wilson and on Ireland's claim to independence. Owing to the importance of some of the

Photo by | | *Poole, Waterford.*

EAMONN DE VALERA.
at the age of thirty-six.

statements made and the circumstances in which they were obtained the interview is given in some detail. "Do you believe," asked Mr. Ross, "that the Statesmen in Paris will force England to do justice to Ireland?"

De Valera replied as follows:—

"I am afraid that question shows that your secret opinion of England and of the Statesmen is not very flattering. You are by no means the first to put me that question. You are convinced like the others, I suppose, that, of herself, England will not do justice to Ireland, and like the others, too, you doubt that the delegates from the other nations will be either so disinterested or such determined champions of the right as to risk a quarrel with England on behalf of a country which possesses less of the world's goods than England does, when nothing but the principles of justice are at stake.

You may be right, you may be wrong. I do not know—but this I do know, that if the issue should unhappily be as you and the others who have put me that question are obviously satisfied it will be, the cynic can feel that he has been justified once more, and the simple and the trusting unscrupulously imposed upon. Then, indeed, will there have been a deception. Honest people everywhere will point the finger of scorn and indignation, and demand of these statesmen where now is that impartial justice, that justice which knows no favourites, which recently you spoke to us so much of? Where now this new order and these handsome foundations of lasting peace. Where all these beautiful professions of yours that, simple and grand, seemed turned to the eternal verities of our souls, awakening in them a sympathetic response that we could not smother—were they but skilfully spun phrases finely woven to enmesh us? Are you after all only as were the rest? Was it for your puny ambitions humanity had endured the horrors of the past five years, and the entail of sorrow they bequeathed to

the future? No, I do not know whether the statesmen of Paris will prove worthy of the trust that has been reposed in them, or great enough to grasp the opportunity that requires so little to improve it, and found firmly the relations between peoples on a basis worthy of our common humanity.

But it is surely a source of hope to know that there is one man at least who apparently realises his duty, and who can accomplish what he wills if only he remains steadfastly determinedly true. The Machiavellis may scoff at him, but he ought to know that he has the best of mankind everywhere at his back. Let him but be bold enough to lead straight on, and that respectable portion of mankind—the plain people—whose spokesman he has been and whose hearts he has won, are strong enough, and if he but call upon them, ready enough to march with him to the realisation of their common dream. Why should he hesitate to see that America's aims are accomplished? Were these aims not stated unequivocally from the start? Is the cause less worthy now that its triumph is in sight? Are those who oppose it now less the enemies of that cause than those who were thought likely to oppose it? Why should any of the statesmen in Paris seek to oppose President Wilson in having the cause of justice upheld? Have their statements not been almost as explicit as his? Have they not all vied with one another in proclaiming that the rights of the weak are no less worthy than the rights of the strong? How can any of them claim the privileges of condoning wrong? Should they attempt to do so the President should boldly save them from themselves. Wrong is no less wrong because it happens to be one of their own number that is guilty of it. If the President should by any chance prove too weak for his trust he will have all the less excuse because, luckily, America is strong enough not to allow herself to be cheated. She, at any rate, has no need to tremble

when the British lion growls his intimidatory warnings to those who might disturb him at his prey. I cannot believe that, with the advantages of position he possesses, the President will be weak. I cannot conceive that he will allow himself to be deterred from cutting away a vicious canker at the core of the new world order, be they conventional, diplomatic niceties that belong to the order which the blood of millions was shed to destroy. But whether Ireland be heard or not—whether statesmen stand forth as the most conspicuous failures in history or not—the duty of Irishmen and the duty of all lovers of liberty is clear—to see that oversight cannot be pleaded as an excuse. England tries to bind and gag Ireland, to throw her into the obscurity of a dungeon. It is our duty to support all who would lend a hand at loosing her. We must strive at least to let in the purifying light to show Ireland as she is, struggling ever against the slavery in which England would confirm her, fighting through the centuries, maintaining in blood and tears communion with all who fight for liberty, everywhere—battling for it as she ever is, with her foe upon the hearth at home. Ireland seeks nothing from England but the removal of England's oppressive, interfering hand. Her only demand is the fundamental right to live her own life in her own way—with no limitations except those imposed by the necessity of respecting the equal rights of other peoples. England has no right in Ireland. Her *de facto* Government here rests solely on the number of her bayonets. We challenge her to allow the principle of free self-determination to be applied to this Island unit. Let her planted colonists and all be included, and if the decisive majority of the whole people declare not for a separate independent statehood then we shall be silent. That verdict I, at any rate, shall abide by. But if a decisive majority does declare for independence shall we not be justified in claiming that that, and not something less represents

the free choice of the people. I am certain that anything less would represent, not a free unfettered choice, but a choice forced on them from without. The recent elections prove it, but why should it need proof at all? In what way would these fears and aspirations common to people in other lands have become atrophied, so to speak, in Ireland? Does not the rule of one people by the people of another land ever beget national conciousness in the people ruled? Do the persecutions which invariably accompany such rule not foster that consciousness into an abiding intensity? If that is generally true in other cases, why should it not be so in the case of Ireland? It is true. Ireland can never will to annihilate her personality, she craves as she must to give expression to her own peculiar characteristics - to contribute her own special quota to the sum of human effort. Yes, craves, yearns, longs as only a Nation that has withstood similar centuries of repression could understand. On what grounds does England refuse Ireland's demands? England cannot pretend to misunderstand the challenge we give. Here is the challenge of the Irish people. Let us hear why she refuses to meet it. If she accepts the principle of self-determination for this Island unit that will settle the Irish question for ever. We can settle ourselves, our minority question, because we shall want to. England will never settle, because she desires to keep it unsettled. Let her remove her interfering hand. We ask the world to listen and to judge between Ireland and England, but if the principles with which the world has rung for the past four years shall prove to be a mockery, if Ireland's claim is still flouted, then she must only find refuge once more in her own indomitable spirit the spirit which has maintained her in the past, she can still at least endure, and there is a generation growing up in Ireland that will see to it that if England wants to still rule here she must do so with a never sheathed sword."

EAMONN DE VALERA.

At the General Election of December, 1918, de Valera was returned for two constituencies—East Clare and East Mayo, defeating in the latter place Mr. John Dillon, Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party, by 4,461 votes. At the dissolution the Irish Nationalist Party was 68 strong, but it emerged from the Election with only six members; 73 Sinn Fein deputies were returned, the remaining seats beind secured by the six Nationalists and 26 Unionists. Mr. William O'Brien's party did not oppose Sinn Fein. The first meeting of Dail Eireann, which attracted considerable attention in political circles throughout the world, was held on the 21st of January, 1919. A Declaration of Irish Independence was at once proclaimed, a democratic programme drawn up, and a message of greeting sent to the Nations of the world. (See Appendix.)

On the release of the other prisoners, de Valera no longer found it necessary to remain in hiding. Re-arrest was not to be feared, for, however much the English might wish to enforce stern measures, they felt that their interests would now be best served by relaxing rather than intensifying their operations against Sinn Fein. While the "High Contracting Parties" were discussing the fate of Nations at Paris, Irishmen were engaged in enlightening world opinion in France and America. Besides, the Sinn Fein leaders were indifferent as to what England might do. They had a clear programme, duly sanctioned by the people, and they meant to adhere to it. They kept President Wilson's self-determination principles and the Allies' professed sympathy for small Nations well in the public view. This was just what the English did not want. Self-determination, however suitable to the Jugo-Slavs, Ukranians, or Czecho-Slovaks, should have no application to Ireland, the pioneer of civilisation in many parts of Europe and America. In its endeavour to stifle the voice of Ireland, the English Government suppressed meetings, prohibited free speech, and set up courts martial tribunals, the net result being to strengthen the Irish cause. The

Sinn Fein prisoners refused any longer to recognise English tribunals, in many instances turning the proceedings into ridicule. Thus the echo became louder than the sound that gave it birth.

On the 22nd March, the following official communication was issued from the headquarters of the Sinn Fein organisation :—" President de Valera will arrive in Ireland on Wednesday evening next, 26th instant, and the executive of Dail Eireann will offer him a National welcome. It is expected that the home-coming of de Valera will be an occasion of national rejoicing, and full arrangements will be made for marshalling the procession. The Lord Mayor of Dublin will receive him at the gates of the city, and will escort him to the Mansion House, where he will deliver a message to the Irish people. All organisations and bands wishing to participate in the demonstration should apply to 6 Harcourt Street on Monday, 24th instant, up to 6 p.m.

H. Boland, T. Kelly, } *Hon. Secs.*

The English Government replied by issuing a Proclamation prohibiting all public meetings and processions, thus only lending additional importance to the event. The comments of the London *Daily Mail* on this Proclamation were refreshing, if not amusing : " The veto," it said, " placed by the authorities on the intended public reception of Mr. de Valera has plunged Dublin into an animated, and in some cases and places almost excited, speculation as to what will happen. The proposed reception was in the public mind obviously based on too notable a precedent. When Queen Victoria paid her State visit to Dublin after the South African War, she was received at the boundary of the capital by the Lord Mayor, who tendered her the keys of the city as a symbolic act of homage. Sinn Fein announced that President de Valera was to be received at the gates of the city by the present Lord Mayor (O'Neill). When Mr de Valera is addressed by his title of ' President de Valera,' most people take

that to mean that he is President of the Irish Republic, which the Dail Eireann claims to have brought into being. A reception to him in this capacity would have looked like a carefully arranged and highly-spiced defiance of the powers that be."

De Valera himself dealt with the Proclamation in the proper spirit. He sent word to the Sinn Fein headquarters that in his opinion the occasion was not one that would justify the holding of the reception, and in deference to his opinion it was abandoned.

About two weeks after de Valera's escape from prison one of the largest and most representative Conventions ever held in the United States, in the interests of Ireland, was opened at Philadelphia. It was known as the Irish Race Convention. Five thousand one hundred and thirty-two delegates were present, many of whom occupied the highest political, judicial, and ecclesiastical positions in America. The main business of the Convention was to urge that Eamonn de Valera, Arthur Griffith, and Count Plunkett, representatives of Dail Eireann, be allowed to state Ireland's case at the Peace Conference: that the self-determination principles as outlined in President Wilson's 14 points be applied to Ireland; and that the League of Nations, planned to defeat the objects for which America entered the war, be rendered ineffective. To give effect to the objects of the Convention a Committee of twenty-five members was appointed. This Committee in turn appointed Messrs. Frank P. Walsh, Edward F. Dunne, and Michael J. Ryan as a Commission to proceed to Paris, where Sean T. O'Kelly, delegate of the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic, was already engaged in making Ireland's case known to the nations of the world.

On the 17th May the following official communication was directed to M. Clemenceau, President of the Peace Conference, by the Irish delegates:—

> Sir,—The treaties now under discussion by the Conference of Paris will, presumably, be signed by the

British plenipotentiaries claiming to act on behalf of Ireland as well as Great Britain.

Therefore we ask you to call the immediate attention of the Peace Conference to the warning, which it is our duty to communicate, that the people of Ireland, through all its organic means of declaration, has repudiated and does now repudiate the claim of the British Government to speak or act on behalf of Ireland, and consequently no Treaty or agreement entered into by the representatives of the British Government in virtue of that claim is or can be binding on the people of Ireland. The Irish people will scrupulously observe any Treaty obligation to which they are legitimately committed. But the British delegates cannot commit Ireland. The only signatures by which the Irish Nation will be bound are those of its own delegates, deliberately chosen. We request you to notify the Peace Conference that we, the undersigned, have been appointed and authorised by the duly elected Government of Ireland to act on behalf of Ireland in the proceedings of the Conference and to enter into agreements and sign Treaties on behalf of Ireland. Accept, sir, the assurance of our great esteem.

EAMONN DE VALERA.
ARTHUR GRIFFITH.
GEORGE NOBLE COUNT PLUNKETT."

On the 26th May the following important communication was also forwarded to the President of the Peace Conference :—

Sir,—On May 17th we forwarded to you a note requesting you to warn the Conference that the Irish people will not be bound by the signatures of English or British delegates to the Conference, inasmuch as these delegates do not represent Ireland. We now further request that you will provide an opportunity for the consideration by the Conference of Ireland's claim to be recognised as an independent Sovereign

State. We send you herewith a general memorandum on the case and beg to direct your attention in particular to the following :—

(1) That the rule of Ireland by England has been and is now intolerable ; that it is contrary to all conceptions of liberty and justice, and as such, on the ground of humanity alone, should be ended by the Conference.

(2) That the declared object of the Conference is to establish a lasting peace, which is admittedly impossible if the legitimate claims of self-determination of nations such as Ireland be denied.

(3) That incorporated with the Peace Treaty under consideration is a covenant establishing a League of Nations, intended, amongst other things, to confirm and perpetuate the political relationships and conditions established by the Treaty.

It is clear that it is radically unjust to seek to confirm and perpetuate what is essentially wrong, and that it is indefensible to refuse an examination of title when a confirmation of possession is intended such as that provided by the Draft Covenant of the League of Nations.

Ireland definitely denies that England or Britain can show any just claim or title to hold or possess Ireland, and demands an opportunity for her representatives to appear before the Conference to refute any such claim. We feel that these facts are sufficient basis to merit for our requests the consideration which we are sure you, sir, will give them.

Please accept, Mr. President, the assurance of our great esteem.

EAMONN DE VALERA.
ARTHUR GRIFFITH.
GEORGE NOBLE COUNT PLUNKETT.

These communications were supplemented by letters from Sean T. O'Kelly and George Gavan Duffy, while the delegates of the Irish Race Convention communicated with and interviewed practically every member of the American Commission to negotiate peace, including President Wilson himself. But the English influence within the Conference was too strong. De Valera and his fellow-delegates were denied a hearing, and their case was as ignominiously rejected as that of Zaghloul Pasha, head of the Egyptian delegation. It may not, perhaps, be correct to say that England alone was responsible for this denial of justice. The blame must be shared by the "big four" who, at the very outset, agreed that no small nation could come before them, except by unanimous consent. But why did President Wilson, whose noble ideals had brought hope to suffering nations, agree to so undemocratic an understanding? Perhaps he only saw, when it was too late, that the bottom had thus been knocked out of his 14 points.

De Valera fully realised what an unequalled opportunity President Wilson had of securing freedom for peoples big and small, but he doubted if the President would be strong enough to carry through his programme. Speaking at the Ard Fheis of Sinn Fein on the 9th of April, he said that if President Wilson wanted to stand by his principles he would find in the Irish race people who would support him even if no other people did so. If President Wilson did not stand by his principles, he continued, the Irish people would do so and see that justice and right were done. The Irish people had always been the pioneers of genuine morality, and they would be the pioneers in this case in seeing that those principles which were enunciated during the war should be carried out. The principles enunciated by President Wilson were right ones. They appealed to the best in mankind. These moral preachings had a value, and they must do their best as a race to see that the value of them was not lost. It had long ago been said that hypocrisy was the greatest compliment paid

to virtue. It was for them to lead the way amongst the nations to see that virtue was the basis of human life. Profound thought characterised all de Valera's utterances. A few further extracts from his address to the Ard Fheis will enable the reader to form a good idea of the position of the Irish Cause at this time. Coming to the question of the Sinn Fein organisation generally, de Valera said :—

"This organisation had attracted, he might say without exaggeration, world-wide attention. It had been successful for two reasons—first, because it really represented the aspirations of the Irish people; and, secondly, because the methods that were employed in propagating it were the methods which were consistent with honesty, fair play, and with tolerance to Irishmen who differed from them. He held that a man could be tolerant without being weak. He did not hold that tolerance and weakness were synonymous. He remembered it was, as far as he was concerned, in East Clare they started out. One day they were stopped on the road by a few policemen armed in the usual fashion, who, when asked who they were going to vote for, said it mattered very little, as the whole thing was all a game. They of the Sinn Fein party went into politics to show that they regarded politics not as a game, but a matter of serious importance, and that the moment politics became other than clean they would leave it. They had nothing but feelings of kind regard for Irishmen, no matter who they were, but they had to recognise that there were limits, and that they could not condone things which were wrong simply because of generous feelings to members of their own nation." Dealing with an American flag incident out of which British agents endeavoured to make capital, he continued :— "They had no quarrel with any nation. Before the war they had only one enemy, and they had that enemy long enough to have Spain and France as allies against it—to have, if they wished, Germany

as an ally against it—and to-morrow or after they would have France or America, or some other nation against it. The enemy of our enemy must, for the time being, naturally command our sympathy. That is a natural thing, and I stand above it. And as I did happen to mention Germany—I had not intended to, but it doesn't matter as it is true—I would like to say this—we have got no gold from Germany. Irishmen would not allow themselves to be the tools of Germany or any other country, and, believe me, if there were men in Ireland who would subordinate the interests of Ireland to a foreign country they would be the very same men who are subordinating the interests of Ireland to England to-day. The men who met England's army here a couple of years ago in order to vindicate the spirit of Irish nationality would have equally well stood against Germany if Germany were cutting in here. As I said, as far as I know—and I should know a good deal more than most people who are talking—Germany neither fooled nor attempted to fool Ireland. Germany has not betrayed Ireland." Coming to the attitude of the Volunteers towards the war, he said:—"Ireland's attitude in this war was her real vindication. Had Ireland not taken the attitude against conscription that she did, it would have meant that Irish nationality was killed for ever. They stood up against it not because they were afraid to fight, but because they were *not* afraid to fight. It was more likely that they would have suffered more in resisting conscription than they would have if they had gone out to fight England's battle for her. The Irish nation might have saved the world against conscription, because it had shown the world how conscription could be stopped in spite of the people in Paris. The people themselves could stop conscription whether the Big Four or the Little Four liked it or not. The plain people of the world could stop conscription by simply

becoming conscientious objectors to it. The plain people had heard lots of talk about their power; but if they only just realised it, organised themselves and exercised it, there would be little heard of the Big Four.

As to the General Election the Irish people had demonstrated in a way that nobody could gainsay what they wanted. By self-determination they should understand the right of the Irish people themselves to say, without any reference to outside people, what form of Government they wanted. When they indicated in the General Election what they wanted, their demand was taken up by the Irish race in England, Australia, and America. If he had gone to America he would not have gone to the Irish people there, but to the Americans themselves. Their attitude was that the Irish people had clearly determined for themselves what they wanted, and had set up an Irish Republic, which had been the dream of Irishmen for centuries, but they accepted the principle of self-determination because, like the weight-thrower, they were not afraid to prove their mark. The Irish Republic was the aim of Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen, in which the Protestants of the North were foremost. The Irish Republic was the dream of Emmet; it was the central aim of the men of '48; it was the aim of the men of '67, and to the Irish Republic that was proclaimed in 1916, and to that only, they gave allegiance. They were the trustees of the faith of these men, and he promised them they would never betray that trust. A Provisional Government was constituted after 1916, and one of their first acts, after coming out of prison, was to send Dr. McCartan to America as their accredited representative. He was now a representative of the duly elected Government of the Irish people. If the principles that were preached were going to find their way really into the world the Irish Republic was established and was

secured. It was a grand thing to see America leading the way by giving the Philippines complete self-determination. If England is sincere then England will do with Ireland what America is doing with the Philippines, and she need not show any anxiety whatever about Ireland, for Ireland will be able to look after herself.

Then there is the question of Labour. I have noticed that Labour is going to have on May 1st a day of no work in order to show the world that Labour stands behind the claims of self-determination for all peoples; that Labour stands behind the claim of Ireland, that the people of Ireland have a right to decide what form of Government they will live under. When we wanted the help of Labour against conscription, Labour gave it to us. When we wanted the help of Labour in Berne, Labour gave it to us, and got Ireland recognised as a distinct nation. When we wanted Labour to stand down at the election and not divide us, but that we should stand forsworn against one enemy, Labour fell in with us. I say Labour deserves well of the Irish people: the Labour man deserves the best the country can give. I wish to goodness the power of occupation was gone from this country. Social problems will be forced upon us in a way we will not be able to solve them on principles of justice, as we would solve other problems if England's interfering hand were gone."

When read in the light of subsequent events the various statements made by de Valera from time to time disclose an amount of wisdom and foresight. His plans were so well thought out that even in small matters he never found it necessary to depart one iota from his declared opinions. An honest man does not as a rule find it necessary to keep a perpetual watch on his words; his conscience is a sure guide; and de Valera is essentially a just man. His fine intellect and noble thoughts lead him far beyond the

environs of those paltry politicians who make self-interest the norm of their actions.

It is unnecessary to say that the Peace Conference brought no help to Ireland. Messrs. Sean T. O'Kelly and George Gavan Duffy, together with the three representatives of the Irish Race Convention, worked strenuously to obtain a hearing for de Valera, but the "big four" remained inexorable. They were not exclusively occupied with the objects for which the great war had been fought; for each dog had his bone, and any intrusion was met with a growl. Mr. Frank P. Walsh said before the Foreign Relations Committee at Washington, that unofficially many were pleased to meet him, but officially they were prepared to dash out through the window when they heard his knock at the door. There was much sword-play between the Irish Race Representatives and President Wilson and his staff, with Mr. Lloyd George as one of the seconds. They were still manœuvring for position when the joyous news reached the Irish headquarters at Paris that the American Congress had supported the Irish claim by 63 votes to 1. American pressure now caused the British Premier to change his tactics. He expressed his willingness to have a personal interview with the Irish Race Representatives, but for reasons known to himself continued to postpone the hour of meeting. In the meantime he signified his willingness to allow the Irish Race delegates to visit Ireland with a view to discussing matters with de Valera and seeing things for themselves. If Mr. Frank P. Walsh, as Chairman of the delegation, found it impossible to penetrate, on behalf of de Valera, the barriers which surrounded the "big four," as they sat in conference, his visit to Ireland proved a tremendous success. The report issued on conditions in Ireland stood out as a terrible indictment against the English. The nature of its contents, obtained from personal observation, aroused American opinion and brought many willing workers to the side of Ireland. What Mr. Lloyd George thought a good manœuvre actually

resulted in a distinct defeat for him. Consequently, when the delegates returned to Paris the interview was declared off. President Wilson, however, granted the delegates a hearing, which took place at 11 Place Des Stats Unis on the 11th of June.

INTERVIEW BETWEEN PRESIDENT WILSON AND MESSRS. EDWARD F. DUNNE AND FRANK P. WALSH, AS REPORTED TO THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, UNITED STATES SENATE.

Mr. Walsh and Governor Dunne called upon the President by appointment at 2.15 p.m. Governor Dunne started by saying that Mr. Walsh would open the case concerning which we called.

Mr. Walsh stated to the President that we had come to see him to ask him if he would not secure a hearing for us before the "Big Four," or whatever other committee might be delegated to hear the case of Ireland. That we had made a formal request of Mr. Lansing for safe conduct for Messrs. de Valera, Griffith, and Plunkett, and had received a communication from him to the effect that it would be futile to make the request. The President interrupted Mr. Walsh, and said: "That is an official request, Mr. Walsh." Mr. Walsh stated that he had not been able to disentangle this official and unofficial business. He said, "What I am talking about is the denial of our request that the Americans should intervene to get the safe conducts for these men." The President said: "Well, of course, since that time, gentlemen, you know the Senate has passed a resolution upon the subject." Mr. Walsh said: "Well, the point of our request to-day is that if we are to assume that these men are not going to be allowed to come here, then we want to advise you that the people of Ireland are in actual physical captivity; that those who would speak for them are not allowed to come here, and are restrained by the force of an army of occupation which is now occupying the country." We called the

attention of the President to the fact that, at the outbreak of the war, there was a Home Rule Bill signed by the King, and which ought to have been put into operation, but in violation of their so-called English Law, it was not put into operation. Later the time for its operation was extended for a year, and later again it was extended until after the war. Lloyd George then gave out a formal call for a Convention. The Convention was organised under the Chairmanship of Sir Horace Plunkett. It began to reach a stage where it looked as though there was to be an agreement; as a matter of fact when the Irish get together, North and South, they always almost agree. When Lloyd George saw there was going to be an agreement, he wrote a letter to the Convention stating, among other things, that the English Government would recognise nothing which they did that might interfere with the existing system of taxation and conduct of the army. This meant that no matter what the Convention did, England could still exploit Ireland and keep her under subjection by her army of occupation.

Mr. Walsh further stated that England now has a blockade against Ireland as effective as the Allies had against the Central Powers; that it amounts to an impost upon every bite of food that the people of Ireland bring in from the outside; and on everything that they ship outside the island. Mr. Walsh told the President that no ships were allowed to touch at any port, trans-Atlantic, that the country could not trade with the United States or other countries, and other countries could not trade with it. That Ireland was the most law-abiding country on the face of the earth, with a great respect for law and order and the rights of private property, but that unless some relief was given that the workers there would have in self-defence set up Soviet government or do something else to relieve the situation.

The President said: "Of course you should understand that no small nation of any kind has yet appeared before the Committee of Four, and there is an agreement among

the Committee of Four that none can come unless unanimous consent is given by the whole Committee."

Governor Dunne addressed the President, and said :— " Has no small nation complaining of injustice on the part of any of the victor nations ever appeared as yet ?" The President said : " There is no nation that has had its right considered by the Peace Conference except those that were actually concerned in the war. We have not attempted to inquire into ancient wrongs."

Mr. Walsh then said : " Mr. President, it is the present injustice and the guerilla warfare that now exists, that we think should receive consideration. Suppose we present a case of this kind, a country in which a state of war actually exists. Do you mean to say, Mr. President, that you would just close the matter and let the war go on ? " The President replied : " I am only one of this Conference, why should this whole thing be left to me ? " Mr. Walsh said : " We are leaving it to you, Mr. President, because you are the commanding figure in the Peace Conference, and because it was you who raised the hopes in the hearts of these people that they could come to you. We come to you because we are asking you to use your powerful influence with the other members of the Committee to get us a hearing."

Mr. Walsh further said : " In my conversations with the representatives of the Irish Republic, President de Valera asked me to ask you a question. I will read from your statements at the time we entered the war." Mr. Walsh then read the following : " Peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not on the rights of governments—the rights of peoples, great and small, weak or powerful ; their equal right to freedom and security and self-government, and to participation, upon fair terms, in the economic opportunities of the world.

* * * * *

"It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities, and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless

this principle be made its foundation, no part of the structure of international justice can stand.

* * * * *

"No man, no group of men, chose these to be the issues of the struggle. They are the issues of it, and they must be settled by no arrangement or compromise or adjustment of interests but definitely and once for all, and with the full and equivocal acceptance of the principle that the interest of the weakest is as safe as the interest of the strongest. . . The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be justice that plays no favourites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned."

Mr. Walsh continued: "Now then, Mr. President, Mr. de Valera asked me to say to you inasmuch as you state these are the issues, that there must be no arrangement or compromise, and that they must be settled definitely and once for all—to ask you now where is the place to settle them definitely, once for all, and how shall his people do it. Now that he is to be denied the right to come here by England, and you tell us now that we cannot appear in effect, before the Peace Conference, he asks this question, and I ask you: Where will he go? Where shall his people go? If it is to be settled definitely and once for all, and you say that the issue is made, and we agree with you that it is made—now, where is it to be settled definitely and once for all?"

The President said: "Mr. Walsh, do you think that any considerable number of people, when they read my declarations, thought that these settlements were to be made at some particular place, automatically, immediately?" Mr. Walsh replied: "Mr. President, I can speak first for myself. When I read it, I believed you meant Ireland. I believed that practically all the people in Ireland believed that, and all that I have met of our own people believed it."

Mr. Walsh continued: "Mr. President, I am afraid you do not understand the Irish situation." The President

replied: "If you think I do not understand the Irish question, what did you come to me about it for?" Mr. Walsh replied: "I do not mean, Mr. President, that you do not understand the general history of Ireland; but I do say that you do not know what is going on in Ireland to-day: that is, its exploitation by England, the shooting down of its people in the streets, the sea blockade which England has enforced against it—in short, all of the atrocities that are being practiced upon its citizens at this very moment." The President said: "Of course I do not claim to know the local and specific matters referred to." Mr. Walsh said: "I believe you received an invitation to go to Ireland. I think it would be a fine thing for yourself and for the peace of the world if you accepted that invitation. The people would be delighted if you went to Ireland, and get an understanding of the situation at first hand."

The President said: "Now, Walsh, if it is your intention to go back to America and try to put me in bad odour, I am going to say when I go back that we were well on the way in getting Mr. de Valera and his associates over here; we were well on the way when you made it so difficult, by your speeches in Ireland, that we could not do it; that it was you, gentlemen, who kicked over the apple cart."

Mr. Walsh replied: "Mr. President, have you read the statement made by the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords, and the statement made by Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons, both officially speaking for Mr. Lloyd George, in which they stated that it was not his intention, and never had been, to grant safe conduct to these men, and that it was his purpose, in having an interview with us after we came back from Ireland, to state the "English case" to the American press representatives, and serve England and not serve the people whom we were representing over here. Did you read that?"

The President said: "Now, Walsh, I am not going to discuss anything that was said in the British House of

Commons or House of Lords, except to say this, that I was making an effort and Colonel House was making an effort, and that we thought we were well on the way of getting de Valera and his associates over here, but the speeches of you, gentlemen, gave such offence that the whole thing had to be abandoned."

Mr. Walsh said: "Mr. President, I have written a letter to Mr. Lansing, to which we have received no reply, asking him what were the utterances that offended these gentlemen and who are the persons who were offended. Perhaps you may be able, Mr. President, to answer it. Was it Mr. Lloyd George?"

The President said: "I have not said anything about Mr. Lloyd George." Mr. Walsh said: "Who was it, then, to whom we gave offence?" The President replied: "Well, I would say you offended the whole British Government."

Mr. Walsh then said: "Well, then, you do not accept what Mr. Lloyd George said to the effect that he was not going to allow them over in any event?" The President said: "Mr. Walsh, I am not going to discuss Mr. Lloyd George."

Mr. Walsh said: "Would you be good enough to see the gentlemen who were offended, and if that was what stood in the way, if two others would come before them that had not given such offence, would they answer their request?" The President said: "There is no use discussing that; I don't know what the British Government would say, and I have said all I can say on the subject."

The President continued: "I want you, gentlemen, to understand that our position is this: that we are dealing officially with these governments. You would not want us to make representations or engage in an effort that might involve the sending of troops into Europe, and I know that our people would not want that. What I am saying to you is that we cannot, and under no circumstances could we have at any time since we have been here, do anything in this matter of an official nature; but I want to say to

you that I have the deepest sympathy for Ireland and her people and her cause. I know I speak for the others when I say that all we could do unofficially we have been doing and will do."

Mr. Walsh said: "In order that there may be no misunderstanding, may I ask if any of your efforts have been directed towards anything except securing to these people the right of self-determination, and the right to have a free government, just like the Government of the United States."

The President said: "What I will say to you is this: that you know the lines that we are discussing."

Mr. Walsh said: "Mr. President, the Irish people believe in these principles that you laid down, and believe that they come wholly within the description of a people who have determined their own rights with reference to their Government, and I want to call your attention to this fact: That no mediations or negotiations or intercourse with the representatives of Great Britain can possibly accomplish anything at this time. We do not desire to have any, and as far as we are concerned we do not desire anyone else to have any for us. The attitude of the English Government is this: By force of arms, by an army of occupation in Ireland, it is assuming to legislate for Ireland. It can do anything to Ireland or for Ireland that might gives it the power to. So that if England has anything that it thinks is good for the Irish people it has the power to impose it at once. In addition to this the Irish people have a right to say: 'We will die before we will live under any such law.' So that no discussion or mediation or negotiation that you or anybody else would have with the representatives of the English Government could do anything for Ireland. Mr. President, you mentioned having your attention called to a resolution of the Senate of the United States requesting safe conducts for Messrs. de Valera, Griffith, and Plunkett." The President said: "Yes, you saw that." Mr. Walsh said: "Yes, but I only saw the newspaper text of it; we wired for the

text and did not get it." "Well," the President said: "I saw that; we have been advised of it." Mr. Walsh said: "Mr. President, what action do you propose to take on the request of the Senate:" The President replied: "That is a matter that has not yet been taken up by our full Conference."

Mr. Walsh said: "Now then, we should direct our efforts as I understand it, to the other representatives on the Committee of Four and see whether or not we are going to get this hearing, inasmuch as it is to be unanimous?" Governor Dunne interjected at this point and said: "That would include calling upon Mr. Lloyd George." Mr. Walsh said: "Not necessarily." To the President Mr. Walsh said: "If we are not allowed to meet you, how would you suggest that this or any similar matter could get before your Committee of Four?" "Well," said the President, "I know of no way except to take it up with them individually."

Mr. Walsh said to the President: "Mr. President, when you uttered these words declaring that all nations had a right to self-determination; that it was an issue that had to be settled at once for all and settled on the side of justice —those expressions I have read to you—you voiced the aspirations of countless millions of people that had been saying them to each other and begging Governments that oppressed them to recognise them. When you, as the head of the most powerful nation in the world, uttered them and they received the assent of the representatives of all the nations, it became a fact, Mr. President. These people are imbued with a principle. They may be killed trying to vindicate it, but they can no longer be kept in subjection by the action of diplomats, government officials, or even governments. They are free now." The President said: "You have touched on the great metaphysical tragedy of to-day. My words have raised hope in the hearts of millions of people. It is my wish that they have that; but could you imagine that you could revolutionize the world at once; could you imagine that those peoples

could come into that at once?" Mr. Walsh replied: "I can imagine them, if anyone denied it, struggling to come into it at once, if it were denied in the place where they expected they were to have it come and to have it settled definitely once and for all."

The President said: "When I gave utterance to those words, I said them without the knowledge that nationalities existed which are coming to us day after day. Of course, Ireland's case from the point of view of population, from the point of view of the struggle it has made, from the point of interest it has excited in the world, and especially among our own people, whom I am anxious to serve, is the outstanding case of a small nationality. You do not know and cannot appreciate the anxieties I have experienced as the result of these many millions of people having their hopes raised by what I have said. For instance, time after time I raise a question here in accordance with these principles, and I am met with the statement that Great Britain or France, or some of the other countries have entered into a solemn treaty obligation. I tell them, but it was in accord with justice and humanity; and then they tell me that the *breaking of treaties is what has brought on the greater part of the wars that have been waged in the world*. No one knows the feelings that are inside of me while I am meeting with these people and discussing these things, and as these things that have been said here go over and over in my mind I feel it most profoundly. It distresses me. But I believe, as you, gentlemen, do, in Divine Providence, and I am in His hands, and I don't care what happens me individually. I believe these things, and I know that countless millions of other people believe them."

Governor Dunne said: "Mr. President, do you know that the addresses made by us in Ireland, which you say has given offence to the British authorities, were along these lines. That we had enjoyed the blessings of a Republican form of Government in America for many years, and that we had grown great and prosperous as a Re-

public; that we were pleased to note that they had in a fairly held election determined that they desired a Republican form of Government, and that we congratulated them upon their choice and hoped that their aspirations would be consummated, the very same sentiments that we had always held and thought in America, and to which the people of Ireland had responded?"

The President replied: "Yes, Governor Dunne; but suppose that during our war of the rebellion an Englishman had declared that the South had a right to secede, or sided with the South, nobody would have criticised him for that; but suppose that he had gone into the South while the rebellion was going on, or immediately before the rebellion, would not our Government have said that he was fomenting the rebellion?"

Governor Dunne said: "There is no parallel here. Here is a people who, after the armistice, held an election under the forms and securities of British Law, and declared for a Republic, and I don't believe the cases are in any way similar."

Mr. Walsh then interjected: "If you are drawing that comparison between the Southern States attempting the exercise of that called the 'right of secession' and the case of Ireland, I am inclined to say, I do not see the parallel. Would you please state in what way the cases are similar?"

Mr. Walsh continued: "Of course Ireland has a separate nationality; it is a nation that has always asserted its nationhood, except when repressed by overwhelming force," and then asked the President where the parallel was. The President replied that he did not say it was a parallel case.

Towards the close of the interview the President said: "I wish that you would bear in mind that I came here with very high hopes of carrying out the principles as they were laid down. I did not succeed in getting all I came after. I should say—I should say that there was a great deal—no, I will put it this way—there was a lot of things that I hoped for but did not get."

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY in June (1919), while the delegates of the Irish Race Convention were still fencing with President Wilson at Paris, de Valera suddenly disappeared from Ireland. His disappearance was, in many respects, as dramatic as his escape from Lincoln. The British Navy had formed a ring of steel around Ireland, through which it was thought impossible for anyone to make his way unless armed with a passport from the Foreign Secretary; and de Valera had neither sought nor received such passport. Yet it was certain that he had left these islands, but whether by sea or air seemed equally a mystery. His more intimate friends were, of course, aware that he had travelled by what afterwards came to be known as the "Sinn Fein route." In English circles it was thought that he had gone to the Peace Conference, but de Valera had now little faith in the Peace Conference. He saw that instead of loosing the fetters which kept subject nations in bondage, the allied statesmen were only bent in making them more secure. Were he to go to Paris, he would probably have, like many other distinguished visitors, to spend fruitless hours hanging around the Hotel Crillion. But all speculation was soon set at rest by the announcement, on the 21st June, by Mr. Harry Boland, that de Valera had arrived in New York.

Simultaneously with the announcement of de Valera's arrival in America came the news that the Germans had agreed to sign the Peace Treaty, thus putting an end to the world war.

On his arrival in New York de Valera took up his resi-

dence at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, which he made his headquarters. Thousands of messages and invitations at once began to pour in upon him from the different States. His apartments became a hub of activity. Leading journals sent representatives to interview him and columns were devoted daily to his views on the Irish situation. Surrounded by men of all ranks, his bearing reminded one of the young King Connor Mac Nessa, slender, handsome, and upright. In his youth de Valera was really handsome, but later on the rigour of prison life caused his features to become slightly furrowed. His beauty, however, was never of that effeminate type which we associate with certain classes of young men. Compared with these a glance at de Valera was like looking at a da Vinci instead of a schoolboy's daub.

The charm of de Valera's personality appears to have preceded him to America, for apart from the glorious cause which he represented the people appeared to be already filled with a burning desire to meet the man himself and to shake him by the hand. "How often distance lends enchantment," said a writer in the *Pittsburg Despatch*, "and it is the most glorious thing in the world not to be disillusioned."

"I knew," continued this writer, "that I would like Eamonn de Valera, but I did not know that I would like him half as much as I did. He does not look in the least like his pictures. When he came into the room to greet me, for a moment I was not sure that it was he. I had imagined from his picture that he was gaunt looking, and that he would be very slow in his movements, but—well, in the first place, whether I was disappointed in him personally or not, for he did not do as many a lesser and lesser sought after light has done—keep me waiting and waiting. He came out as soon as my card was presented, and he greeted me as though it was a real pleasure. Eamonn de Valera is easily six feet tall and may be a little over. He is very straight in figure, and very active, and he gives one the impression of strength and health. His hair is light brown, with not a bit of grey in it; and he has as

nice a pair of clear light brown eyes as I have ever had the pleasure of looking into. He was dressed in a suit of very dark grey, made by a very good tailor, and he had a little bit of white around the vest and his tie was black. Eamonn de Valera is not in the least conceited or affected, or full of his own importance. He is like all really great men; simple, kind, sympathetic, and genuine. He laughed when I told him that I was far more anxious to meet him than I was to meet King Albert or the Prince of Wales. Even if I was not for Irish independence I would be for Eamonn de Valera, strong, strong, strong."

This was how most Americans felt about de Valera It was his personality, coupled with the sacredness of his cause that fired the enthusiasm of Americans and stirred to the highest pitch the love of Ireland in their hearts. He did not seek personal glorification, even though it was accorded to him. In his triumphal march through the States he wished that every cheer with which he was greeted be recorded for Ireland. When the great universities and colleges conferred honorary degrees on him in recognition of his intellectual powers he wished it to be known that these honours were for Ireland, and not for him. But with all his humility we can say of him what Remy de Gourmont said of Goethe, "that he was the supreme hero of intellectual humanity."

Before de Valera's departure for America Dail Eireann had authorised the flotation of an Irish Republican loan of £1,000,000. Of this amount £500,000 was to be issued in bonds immediately, £250,000 in America and £250,000 in Ireland. The machinery was at once set in motion for the American quota and backed by the Friends of Irish Freedom, the Clan na Gael, the A.O.H. and the Women's auxiliary, of which Mrs. MacWhorter was President, de Valera had little difficulty in securing the required amount. Everybody from the workingman upwards subscribed so generously that it was indeed necessary after a while to increase the maximum amount to ten million dollars.

An appeal for funds was not, however, the main object de Valera had in view. In the course of an eloquent address to 50,000 people in San Francisco he said :—

> "I come to the people of America, and I am more than satisfied with what the people of America have already done. I come here to float bonds of our country and to get your financial support for our industries. But the main thing I want to get in this country, the main thing I want is recognition of the Irish Republic. We have a nation big enough, with resources great enough, to look after ourselves. I would rather go back to Ireland without a penny piece, and the recognition of our Republic through this country than I would if you were to give me all the gold you possessed in the country."

In seeking recognition of the Irish Republic, de Valera made it clear that he did not want America to take any hostile step against England. To recognise the Irish Republic would not, he held, mean war with England. England would not dare go to war with America, and even if she wanted to she would first have to borrow American money to carry on the fight! The decision therefore rested with America. Ireland, he said, was at war with England for over 700 years, and that war would continue until England's interfering hand was entirely withdrawn. With Ireland's right recognised, all animosity and ill-feeling would disappear. It would, indeed, be to the interest of both nations to become friendly. England could have the friendship of the Irish nation at any moment—all that was required was to grant complete self-determination—to allow the people to select their own form of Government in accordance with the principles outlined by President Wilson. The so-called Irish problem which Government after Government made the pretence of grappling with did not exist. Sir Edward Carson was there at the behest of the Government. He had been set up in Ireland to keep British interests alive and he

pops in and out of the British Cabinet according as his services are required. The Belfast problem, as well as every other so-called problem, were only myths created for the purpose of excusing England's hold on Ireland. Granted complete independence Ireland would settle her own internal affairs in a short while, and as an independent nation she would be a source of strength to the British Empire rather than a source of weakness as at present. A community of interests would make it essential for both nations to work in harmony and live in neighbourly friendship.

In England de Valera was looked upon as an extremist, but he maintained that to ask that President Wilson's principles and the principles for which the Allies fought, be applied to Ireland—a nation that deserved well of the world—was not an extreme view but merely a demand for justice.

Some idea of the relative positions of Ireland and England in the matter of justice and nationhood can be gathered from two statements typical of American thought. At a civic banquet which followed the conferring of the Freedom of the City on de Valera, the Mayor of Charlestown proposed as a toast the message of George Washington to the Irish :—

> "Patriots of Ireland : Champions of liberty in all lands : Be strong in hope : Your cause is identical with mine. You are calumniated in your day ; I was misrepresented by the loyalists of my day. Had I failed the scaffold would be my doom. But now my enemies pay me honour. Had I failed I would deserve the same honour. I stood true to my cause even when victory had fled. In that I merited success. You must act likewise."

How George Washington would have embraced Eamonn de Valera ! "Patriots of Ireland : Champions of liberty in all lands," yet still denied liberty at home.

The second statement is taken from a speech delivered by Senator Reed, a Presbyterian, at a great meeting of welcome to de Valera held at Washington :—

> " Ireland had educational institutions of a high order centuries before Great Britain's people had ceased wearing skins of beasts and wisps of straw wrapped round their legs to protect them from the winter's cold. I do not say that to reflect upon the British. Ireland had the religion of Christ before the inhabitants of Great Britain ceased worshipping false gods."

British agents and supporters would have the world believe that de Valera was making some extraordinary claim for Ireland which had no foundation in fact, but it can be seen from these quotations, selected from many such, that Americans realised that Ireland had not alone a claim to nationhood, but that she had a claim superior to any that even England could put forward on her own behalf.

De Valera was, therefore, rational in his appeal—just as rational as Archbishop Hayes believed him to be in the programme he had outlined for the future development of the country. " After a very satisfactory conference with Mr. Eamonn de Valera I am convinced," said the Archbishop, " that his programme for the agricultural, industrial and commercial development of Ireland, is entirely practical and constructive."

In his tour of the American States de Valera was accorded a reception everywhere he went, unprecedented in the history of American politics. Governors of States, Mayors of cities, Supreme Court Judges, Congressmen, Senators, High Dignitaries of the Catholic Church, Presbyterians, Episcopalians, Jews—men of every walk in life in fact—vied with one another in honouring him. The San Francisco Chronicle in referring to his reception in the West opened thus :—

> " Eamonn de Valera, President of the Irish Republic,

> entered San Francisco last evening and was accorded a reception such as in other days and other circumstances might have been accorded to an Irish King."

It was said that Lord Northcliffe left millions of dollars in America for propaganda purposes, and during de Valera's visit such distinguished politicians as Lord Grey and Sir Auckland Geddes were sent out to make good the British case, but they were astounded at the pygmean appearance which they presented to the American people as compared with de Valera.

The British agents were practically swept off the field. They made a few feeble attempts here and there to interfere with the progress of the Irish cause. At San Francisco they succeeded in having the tricolour lowered from one hotel, just like their confreres at home had it removed from an occasional telegraph pole. In Charlotte (North Carolina) the newspapers refused to give any space to advance notices of the de Valera meeting, believing in this way to make the meeting a failure. But here is how they were dealt with: Charles P. Sweeney who travelled with de Valera went at once to Charlotte and within twenty-four hours, wrote, edited and published ten thousand copies of a special four-page edition of an up-to-date daily newspaper. The newspapers were distributed by Irish-Americans and were eagerly bought up. The meeting was a huge success and it need hardly be said that the pro-English editors of Charlotte were dumbfounded.

In one city an endeavour was made to prevent accommodation from being given for the holding of meetings. But here, as elsewhere, British propaganda went down before the mighty power of a just cause. In this connection let us hear an American journalist:—

> "Smashing British propaganda as he goes, Eamonn de Valera continues his tour. Never in the history of the United States were there so many paid and unpaid agents of Britain working in this country to undermine American liberty and prevent Irish independence,

but this quiet, earnest leader of the New Ireland, armed with justice and clad in the armour of truth, tears steadily and methodically through their ranks, putting them to rout. New beacon fires of liberty are blazing in his wake as he goes through the land. He is doing a great work for world freedom, as well as for freedom of the people who choose him and have sent him to this country to appeal to the hearts and consciences of America. The Irish leader in the past week had made this appeal to the men and women of two States, Colorado and Utah, and like a general cutting the enemy's lines of communication and breaking down his fortifications, he presses on towards the Pacific, establishing virtually a line of forts garrisoned by lovers of liberty from the Atlantic to the Golden Gate. What Sherman's march to the sea was to the Union, de Valera's tour from ocean to ocean is likely to be to the cause of Irish and world freedom."

This was a noble tribute to the work of de Valera. Students of American history will recollect how General Sherman, the Union Leader, marched against the Confederate Army of the South, singing :—

"John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave.
His soul goes marching on."

Reading these lines in conjunction with de Valera's forward and unswerving movement on behalf of the Irish Republic, we can at once conjure up thoughts of Patrick Pearse "Whose soul goes marching on."

The lucid manner in which de Valera put the case for complete independence before the American public brought him support from thousands of people who were neither of Irish birth nor of Irish descent. Speaking before the Foreign Relations Committee the Hon. W. W. McDowell, Lieutenant Governor of Montana, said: "there are a great many people in Montana and in the adjoining States who are not of Irish blood, who are heartily in sympathy with the aspirations of Ireland, and would be opposed to

any clause in any Treaty that would stand in the way of Irish Freedom."

Reference to Dominion Status and Home Rule, with their various limitations, would not be understood by liberty-loving peoples of alien birth, and indeed such terms should have assumed an archaical meaning in the twentieth century. "Ireland," said de Valera, "is entitled to full rights, and these are the only things she will be satisfied with. England has no right to measure the amount of justice she will give us. The Irish people will not be satisfied until the national debt of honour is paid, and that means the recognition of the Irish Republic by the nations of the earth."

And in his next speech he would reiterate Ireland's claim in terms just as convincing, thus :—

> "There can be no final settlement intermediate between union and separation. There can be no real peace between Ireland and England until Great Britain has assimilated Ireland and definitely annihilated the distinct national soul of Ireland which England has failed to do after 750 years of effort, or until England has recognised that the soul has a right to seek its perfection in statehood. England says we can have self-determination within the British Empire. What does that mean? You might just as well give a man his freedom but keep him inside the jail yard."

De Valera appealed to the hearts of the American people, and the response was immediate and effective. Shortly before the unveiling of a statue to Robert Emmet at San Francisco he delivered a speech to an immense gathering, in the course of which he said :—

> "You are a liberty-loving people. If we in Ireland did not know that fact I would not be here to-day, but I am here to ask the people of America who have been conceived in liberty and have fought in the great war purely for the sake of liberty, to do an act of simple justice to the land I represent. That land has

never accepted and has always resisted English rule. It has always been ready to fight England, and I promise you in the name of Ireland she will continue to fight. The Irish people have the right to determine under what form of Government they are to live, and they refuse to live under the sovereignty of England. They have formed a Rebublic, and I am here to seek official recognition of that Republic by the Government of the United States through the only legitimate means that it can be secured—that is, through the hearts of the American people."

At a great reception in the West he said: "I hope the *enthusiasm* of this moment *will be harnessed* to the purpose of inducing your Government to give official recognition to the Irish Republic"; and then, he continued, "In this country the will of the people is the source of all power, and I am sure that the will of the people is with us, for this is the test case to determine whether democracy or might shall be the final arbiter of justice."

There are people who want, and rightly, to harness up our rivers for industrial purposes; there are professors who want to harness up the sun; but de Valera is the first man we know of who asked his audience to harness up their enthusiasm! Politicians are usually satisfied with resolutions, and they generally treat enthusiasm as a sort of condiment for their own conceit. De Valera was not of this school. He thought only of his country, and he wished every available ounce of energy directed to its uplifting.

"De Valera's appeal for freedom is not entirely a local appeal—it is for world freedom," said a distinguished member of the United States Congress, "and the peoples of all nations owe him a debt of gratitude for the high principles he has instilled into the minds of men."

While de Valera devoted close attention to the cause which he had most at heart he nevertheless made it known that there were other nations—India, Egypt, Korea, etc.—struggling like Ireland with an indomitable will that knew only delay but not defeat. He appealed to America to

take up the moral headship of the world to which her consistent traditions entitled her. We will give here his own words so that the reader may better appreciate the beauty of his appeal :—

"The degree of unanimity obtained in Ireland on the Republican issue is higher than that claimed by the American Colonies when they declared their independence. You had your Tories and your "Loyalists" to whom Washington very properly sent the ultimatum that if they preferred the interest and protection of Britain to the freedom and happiness of their own country they might forthwith withdraw themselves and their families within the enemy lines.

"The degree of unanimity obtained in Ireland is higher, too, than that by which your own glorious Union and Constitution were established. Had complete unanimity been insisted upon as a precedent to your independence, as some people pretend to believe it should be insisted upon in recognition of ours, then you would not be to-day, as you are, a united nation, the greatest on earth, with unified territory that is a continent, and a population and a prosperity that are the envy of the rest of the world, but merely thirteen disunited colonies.

"The men who established your Republic sought the aid of France. We seek the aid of America. I come here entitled to speak for the Irish nation with an authority democratically as sound and as well based as that by which President Wilson speaks for the United States, or Lloyd George for England, or Clemenceau for France.

"I come directly from the people of Ireland to the people of America, convinced that the American people, and consequently the American Government, which, as a Government of the people ought to reflect the people's will, will never consciously connive at or allow itself to be made a party to the suppression of the natural God-given right of the Irish nation to its liberty.

"This great American nation, nurtured in liberty, has been liberty's most consistent champion. It has never

been appealed to in vain. When other Chancelleries and Cabinets callously closed their ears to the agonising cries of the people of Poland, Greece, Hungary, and the Latin races of the Continent, timorous of offending the tyrants that held them writhing in their grasp, excusing themselves by the plea that they could not interfere in the affairs of other States, your nation, conscious of its mission, listened to them and braved their oppressor's wrath in succouring them.

"It must surely be a source of pride to Americans, as it is a source of hope to us, to reflect that never have they undertaken a cause that they did not bring to triumph. The Latin Nations as well as Poland, Hungary, Greece are now free States. Ireland, the only remaining white nation in the slavery of alien rule, will similarly be free unless Americans make scraps of paper of their principles and prove false to the traditions their fathers have handed down to them.

"The leaders of the Revolution that made America a nation, while admitting, as we do, that a minority has its rights, would not concede that the will of the minority should be allowed to prevail as a perpetual veto on the will of the majority. Rule of the people by the people would, by such a concession, be reduced to an absurdity.

"The very same catch-cries and the very same tools were used by the British Government against the leaders of the American Revolution as are being used to-day against us. But your leaders acted and so have we acted. The majority behind them justified them. Our majority more than justifies us. The justice of their cause, even in the darkest moments, was for them a hope—a surety even—that they would ultimately win if they but persevered. The justice of our cause is similarly our surety. They fought. We have fought and are still fighting. They were called traitors and murderers. So are we.

"Ireland is taking her place among the Nations of the earth. You Americans who were looked down upon, are the cream of the earth to-day. You hold up your heads

proudly because you know you are a great Nation. Our action in Ireland has been excused by the hypocrisy we stood up against. We are determined not to be driven as slaves any longer. In Ireland we started out in the movement not as talkers but as workers.

" I believe there is no Nation in this world more alive to the supreme issues for mankind involved in the Paris negotiations. We in Ireland recognise that if the wrong turning is now taken, if violence be re-established in its former supremacy as the final sanction, humanity is faced with a period of misery for which history hitherto has no parallel.

" The burden of taxation due to the debts incurred in the War, the cost of competitive armaments and the old diplomatic intrigues will lead inevitably to the internal upheaval of States—that is to anarchy and civil war—a whole series of irregular wars vastly more terrible than the huge organised conflict now ended.

" Peace has been nominally signed between the two great combating sides. Peace! Peace that gives us 20 new wars instead of one that it nominally ends. And this is the Peace Treaty the world has been asked to look forward to as the Treaty that would end wars and establish a staple lasting peace. Does it not seem already a mockery? And a mockery it will remain unless America takes up the responsibility for the moral headship* of the world to which her consistent traditions, no less than the aims she set herself in entering this war, entitles her. The headship at this moment is freely offered to her by the common sense and the common consent of mankind.

" The present opportunity is never to recur again. The idea of a community of Nations recognising law and a common right ending war among Nations, as municipal

* In refusing to enter the League of Nations as submitted by the allied powers; and, later, in inaugurating the Washington Conference on a maments, America virtually assumed the " headship " spoken of by de Valera.

law has ended private wars among individuals, is to-day a possibility if America does what the people of the world —the honest, the plain people your President spoke of— pray and expect that it would be possible to repair.

"The moral propaganda carried on during the War, the doctrines of right and liberty and justice that were enunciated, even though the motives of some of the spokesmen may have been hypocritical, have done their work. The world is prepared and is ready. The minds and hearts of men made peculiarly receptive by the circumstances of sadness and misery surrounding the teaching, were deeply impressed by the truths that were being taught. The seed fell on a loosened, freshened soil. Will America allow the fruit of such a propitious sowing to remain ungathered or practically lost by a neglected harvest? America alone can save it. She alone has the strength, if she has, as we who look to her believe she has, the will. If America disappoints, then the right minded, the good, the just in the world will be thrown back to a sullen and cynical despair. Democracy dies or else goes mad.

"A new Holy Alliance cannot save democracy; a just League of Nations, founded on the only basis on which it can be just—the equality of right amongst nations, small no less than great—can.

"America can see to it that such a League is set up and set up now. She is strong enough to do so, and it is her right consequent on the explicit terms on which she entered the war. She will be backed up by the right-minded of the whole world, by all but some scheming diplomats or the financial interests that back them. Let her lead—true democracy will organise itself the world over to press on to salvation and happiness behind her.

"We in Ireland watched with keen interest every development. Our strategic object since we came out of prison has been to put Ireland in the proud position she now occupies, a definite claimant for her full rights, ready to enter the world family of Nations."

When the British Government saw that de Valera, despite

the most energetic efforts of its agents, was making immense headway in America, it decided on a change of plans. The most important of these was the despatch to the United States of the Ulster Protestant Deputation, which consisted mostly of ministers, with Mr. Coote, M.P. at their head. The principal object of this deputation was to confuse American opinion, by giving the Irish question a religious aspect which it did not contain, and by labouring England's pet argument that the Irish question was a domestic issue. But the Americans could no longer be deceived. The Rev. Dr. Grattan Mythen, an Episcopalian, likened the Ulster Protestant Deputies to the slave-preaching parsons of 1861, and said that they had been foisted upon Ulster by a group of Tories in England to create an artificial issue for political power. The Rev. Dr. J. A. H. Irwin, an Ulster Presbyterian, said they represented a political faction in Ireland and not a religious one. The domestic question existed on British propaganda alone. Using Mr. Lloyd George's own term, de Valera said: "There has been no union between Britain and Ireland save the union of the grappling hook." Thomas Davis once said of England: "We would, were she eternally dethroned from over us, rejoice in her prosperity, but we cannot and will not try to forget her long cursing, merciless tyranny to Ireland, and we don't desire to share her gains, her responsibilities or her glories."

There was nothing in this statement to indicate the free partnership that the word "domestic" implies. In different words de Valera gave expression to the same thought. "So far," he said, "from being in any way covetous of a share in Britain's Empire, to the Irish people that Empire and all it stands for is abhorrent."

The Ulster Deputies, for reasons known to themselves, declined to meet de Valera in argument. Perhaps they were afraid that they would acquit themselves in the same manner as the famous Captain Hinton of the New South Wales Intelligence Department. In Australia, as in Ireland, Irishmen were interned during the war for the

safety of the Empire. In the course of the trial of one of the prisoners the chief Intelligence Officer was cross-examined, with the following result :—

Mr. Mack, K.C.—" Did you find out anything about a man named Robert Emmet ? "

Capt. Hinton.—" No. I believe he raised a rebellion in *England* in 1916." (Laughter.)

Mr. Mack.—" Did you find out anything about Tone ?"

Capt. Hinton.—" I believe he raised a rebellion in *England* in 1916." (Loud laughter.)

Mr. Mack.—" You took no steps to arrest either of these men ? "

Capt. Hinton.—" I generally have facts to work on before I act."

If the busy Captain Hinton had had some more " facts " he would have tried to arrest Emmet and Tone, who had been dead over one hundred years !

The Ulster Deputies had no facts to go on so they were as helpless as Captain Hinton and returned to Ireland with failure written on their brows. Another one of the " nine bad tricks " had failed, for all tricks that have for their object the keeping of a nation in slavery, are bad ones.

De Valera, however, went on with his work. He had many duties to perform, but he had only one object in view, and we will state that object in the words of Wolfe Tone, who said :—" To subvert the tyranny of our execrable Government, to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country—these are my objects."

The presidential campaign afforded de Valera an excellent opportunity of pressing home his case for recognition of the Irish Republic. His tour through the States had already prepared the ground. The seed he had sown had promised well, and it required only a favourable day and a team with an even pull to reap the harvest. The day came when the Republican Convention met at Chicago, and the opportunity was repeated when the Democrats

assembled at San Francisco. But unfortunately, when the crucial moment arrived it was found that there was one trace slack. John Devoy and Judge Cohalan, who had rendered such distinguished service to the Irish cause, could not see eye to eye with the Irish leader. True lovers of Ireland, they were still unwilling to yield to the better judgment of de Valera, whose plank represented not alone his own view, but that of his government. Influenced by American politics, they truly believed that a resolution of sympathy from the respective platforms was all that could be obtained, and they accordingly put forward a plank on these lines. De Valera was for direct recognition of the Irish Republic. He did not rely much on sympathy, and, indeed, at that particular time when the Irish Republican Army was fiercely engaged with the enemy on the plains of Munster and elsewhere the hour for sympathy had passed. However, the two planks were proposed and, as might be expected, the line of least resistance was followed. The plank proposed by John Devoy and Judge Cohalan, leaders of the Friends of Irish Freedom, was adopted by the Republicans and Democrats. It is more than likely, however, that, had the full force of Irish-American opinion found it possible to stand sponsor for one plank, and one only—that of direct recognition—it would have been carried. We know that the sparkling stream will never go over the hill while it can find a gap further on, and thus it was with the platform committees of the two Conventions: they did not face the recognition issue when an easier road presented itself.

For some time de Valera had seen that the Republican cause would be better served if the various Societies working for Ireland in America became welded into one organisation. He had hoped that the organisation known as the "Friends of Irish Freedom" might be broadened to meet the requirements, but this hope was shattered on the eve of the Presidential Election. A new organisation—"The American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic"—was therefore founded as a result

of a conference at Washington. This Association was to be broad enough to embrace every sympathiser with Ireland's rights, and it was to be truly democratic, free from machine methods,with the voice of the people supreme. De Valera wished that the friends of Ireland in all parties work in perfect unison. "The next best thing to complete harmony," he once said, "is a friendly rivalry in effort." Perhaps the necessity for, and usefulness of, the new organisation can best be conveyed to the reader by a quotation from an interview given to the *Irish Independent* by Mr. Stephen O'Mara, Mayor of Limerick, on his return from America.

> Mr. O'Mara said:—"When President de Valera went to America in 1919 there was one organisation effectively guided by Judge Cohalan, but used more for American politics than for extending substantial help to Ireland. That was the Friends of Irish Freedom. Naturally, Mr. de Valera got in touch with them, but he was not satisfied when he found they refused to realise that an Irish Republic was in existence. Finding he was unable through them to reach the mass of American opinion he was obliged to call upon the people of America to form an Association to obtain recognition of the Irish Republic. Judge Cohalan's organisation never comprised more than 30,000 members, while the organisation founded at the request of Mr. de Valera—The American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic—consists of 850,000 paid-up members. It is thoroughly alive and active in every State and always at the service of the Irish nation, ready to concentrate on any given line of action. Mr. E. L. Doheny, known as the Mexican Oil King, son of Michael Doheny, the Young Ireland Felon patriot, is President of that Association. When the Anglo-Irish Armistice was declared the Association was beginning to do very effective work on Congress and the Senate, and had the necessity for political action

remained during the latter half of last year (1921) I am quite confident that we could have brought very effective pressure on the United States Government on behalf of Ireland."

De Valera's greatest achievement in America was, no doubt, his defeat of the League of Nations as drafted by the allied powers. From the beginning Americans viewed many articles of the proposed Treaty with disfavour, but with President Wilson demanding in emphatic terms that it be ratified without amendment, it looked as if the opposition would not be able to gather strength enough to bring about its rejection. De Valera provided the necessary momentum. The lucid manner in which he exposed the designs of those who framed the Treaty, and the transparent honesty of his appeal, touched the hearts of the broad-minded and the generous. American opinion strengthened against the Treaty. Senators and Congressmen who had been more or less apathetic became resolute, and when the moment for action arrived de Valera's view prevailed.

The battle raged principally round Article X, which contained a provision to the effect that the members of the League undertake to respect and preserve, as against external aggression, the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. Under that Article the great powers of the world contracted with England to go to war to maintain the integrity of the British Empire. They had agreed not to permit any other nation to assist Ireland in her struggle for liberty. "The League, as it stood," said de Valera, "simply meant an association to perpetuate power for those who had got it and to keep for ever in slavery those who had been kept in slavery by international rules, as they were called, but which were simply the rules of thieves for regulating their conduct amongst themselves." Senator Borah and many other distinguished American politicians concurred in this view; Mr. Justice W. O. Howard, of the Supreme Court of Judicature of the United States, stating that the only barrier that stood that day between Ireland and

oblivion was the United States Senate. The signature of the American Senate to the League of Nations, he held, would sound the doom of Ireland.

De Valera declared that the Irish people were eager to take part in every great world-undertaking that the peoples of the world should impose upon themselves for the good of all, and to undertake the full duties of a free nation. He made it clear that the Government of the Irish Republic were ready to become a constituent unit of the League of Nations based on the only principle on which it could stand, namely, equality of rights among nations, great and small. With all the power at his command, he urged America not to become a party to the League as presented. "Sign that Treaty as it stands, and you enslave my country," he declared, and the American Senate declined to sign it.

A thorough elucidation of the work and achievements of de Valera in America would require a volume. In one tour of the States he covered close on 8,000 miles, in the course of which he often devoted as many as 18 hours a day to the cause of the Irish Republic. Indeed his efforts on behalf of Ireland brought the better side of politics to the forefront, and many peoples who had seen only darkness over the Peace Table at Paris now perceived a great beam of light illumining the firmament. His name penetrated to the very ends of the earth. Powerful nations, as well as the oppressed, saw the wisdom of his words. Greetings reached him from the different centres of the different continents. His educational campaign bore fruit everywhere. When he appealed to Americans for funds to uphold the Irish Republic the amount was oversubscribed. When he sought financial aid for those who had suffered in the fight, the White Cross sprang into existence and brought succour to thousands of homes, the appeal in this case having reached Rome, from whence Pope Benedict XV. dispatched the magnificent sum of £3,000. When he brought under notice the fact that Irish prisoners were being detained without trial, 88 Congressmen

cabled a vigorous protest to Mr. Lloyd George, thus making it known that British propaganda had succumbed in spite of the dollars that sustained it.

The Freedom of New York City was conferred on de Valera by Mayor Hylan on behalf of the Board of Aldermen, which in effect was an implied rebuke to England, under whose enforced guardianship his greatest honour was the prison cell. Five hundred of the fighting sixty-ninth in uniform escorted him through the streets of New York; and in Cleveland, Ohio—to mention but one other place—2,500 military took part in the procession that accompanied him to the Armoury, where the meeting was held. Yet while these American soldiers thus honoured him, British soldiers, with whom they fought side by side in France, would have sent him to the familiar prison, if not to a more dreadful doom.

As de Valera went through the States various cities invited him to inscribe his name on the freedom-roll which was presented to him, and he was invariably welcomed by either the State Governor or the Mayor of the City. By unanimous request he addressed state legislatures, many of which passed resolutions demanding complete self-determination for Ireland. All this was symbolical of one thing—the success of de Valera's campaign of enlightenment on behalf of the Irish Republic. "The fact is," said an English paper, "that de Valera has left us no elbow room in America"; and Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, writing to the *Nation*, declared that "the Treaty and Covenant had been killed in America by Irish opinion." Lord Grey deplored this, while Lord Reading told his fellow-countrymen that it would be a fortunate day for them when the Irish propaganda question was removed from the States. Englishmen in America bemoaned the helplessness of their position and the disgrace that had been brought upon them; but de Valera only intensified his campaign of truth. Referring to the fact that the United States Senate had now made Irish Freedom a condition of America's adhesion to the Peace Treaty and

had recognised Ireland as a Nation with an equal right to membership of any League of Nations, Mr. Arthur Griffith said: "Under de Valera's leadership Ireland has won her greatest diplomatic victory." And Frank P. Walsh, who had been associated with de Valera in Ireland and America, stated that "he was the peer of any statesman in the world to-day." It certainly required a statesman of sound judgment to meet and address hundreds of thousands of Americans, composed of all religions and nationalities, without having even once to withdraw a single word. And it certainly required a statesman having the highest regard for truth to defeat British propaganda in all its forms. No wonder, then, that Frank P. Walsh described de Valera as the peer of any statesman in the world at that time, and that the French Deputy, M. M. Sumier referred to him as "the world-famed champion of liberty everywhere." Oscar Yampolsky, the great Russian sculptor, was so much [illegible] that he was impelled to remark that "the spirit of Eamonn de Valera will never die"; and Lajpa Rai of Lahore declared that there would be more Sinn Feiners in India in 1925 than in Ireland.

During his stay in America de Valera went through the singular and interesting rite of being invested as Chief of the [illegible] Americans. This honour, it is believed, had not previously been conferred on any [illegible] Roosevelt. The scene was most impressive. Some of the Indians came a fortnight's trek across country to see the great White Chief from over the water."

It was wonderful what influence de Valera's words had on those who heard them. Archbishop [illegible] had been present at several of his meetings said he had never seen enthusiasm comparable to [illegible] speeches excited. Perhaps the secret was derived from the fact, as Father [illegible] put it, "that when you heard [illegible] listening to one who was giving [illegible]

soul of Ireland." When Marshal Foch thanked the Irish Catholics for their prayers in the hour of need he spoke of the justice of his cause; and it was the sense of justice that vibrated through the soul of de Valera that enabled him to touch the hearts of those whom he addressed. To him the Irish Republic existed as truly as did the Republic of France or the Republic of the great Western World itself. He caressed it as a fond mother would her child, and he strove for it as those who feel that the noblest purpose in life is love of God and love of country. He gave full expression to this feeling in America. Another quotation from an American journal will show how his message was interpreted :—

> "Chicago last night gave vigorous and vociferous evidence of its desire for recognition of the Irish Republic. Eamonn de Valera, President of Ireland, when introduced to an audience of one hundred thousand that jammed the auditorium and packed the streets for blocks around, commanded one of the greatest ovations ever accorded an American or foreign statesman. For twenty-six minutes the President of Ireland stood unable to speak, while the huge crowd cheered in a frenzy of enthusiasm. The President was lifted to the shoulders of his uniformed bodyguard, composed of American veterans of the World War. Flags, American and Irish, rippled over the sea of faces; babies were handed up to be kissed by the Irish Chieftain: and all the while the crowd yelled, screamed, clapped, and in many cases broke into tears in the intensity of enthusiasm. No more genuine and heartfelt demonstration of love and admiration ever was accorded a visitor to Chicago."

Meanwhile, how did matters stand at home? In order to be in a position to properly understand the importance and urgency of de Valera's work in America, it is necessary that the reader should be furnished with an account of the reign of terror to which the Irish people were subjected.

This can, perhaps, best be done by quoting in full the historic statement issued by the Irish Bishops from Maynooth on the 20th October, 1920. The statement was as follows :—

"It is not easy for the pastors of the flock to uphold the law of God and secure its observance when oppression is rampant in a country. Where terrorism, partiality, and failure to apply the principles which its members have proclaimed are the characteristics of Government, the task is rendered well nigh impossible. And, unhappily, by such means as these, in an aggravated form, Ireland is now reduced to a state of anarchy.

"With no feeling of complaisancy do we recall the fact that when the country was still crimeless we warned the Government that the oppressive measures which they were substituting for their profession of freedom would lead to the most deplorable consequences. The warning was in vain, and never in living memory has the country been in such disorder as it is now. Before the War began, and especially before the drilling and arming of Ulster, Ireland, however insistent on reform too long delayed, was in a state of order and peace. Now there are murders, raids, burnings, and violence of various kinds.

"On a scale truly appalling have to be reckoned :— Countless indiscriminate raids and arrests in the darkness of night ; prolonged imprisonments without trial ; savage sentences from tribunals that command and deserve no confidence ; the burning of houses, town halls, factories, creameries and crops ; the destruction of industries to pave the way for want and famine—by men maddened with plundered drink and bent on loot ; the flogging and massacre of civilians—all perpetrated by the forces of the Crown, who have established a reign of frightfulness which, for murdering the innocent and destroying

their property, has a parallel only in the horrors of Turkish atrocities, or in the outrages of the Red Army of Bolshevist Russia.

"Needless to say we are opposed to crime from whatever side it comes. Nearly two months ago His Eminence Cardinal Logue, in condemning the murder of a policeman, wrote as follows:—'I know we are living under a harsh, oppressive, tyrannical regime of militarism and brute force which invites, stimulates, and nourishes crime. I know that, latterly at least, all pretence of strict discipline has been thrown to the winds, and those who profess to be the guardians of the law and order have become the most ardent votaries of lawlessness and disorder; that they are running wild through the country, making night hideous by raids: that reckless and indiscriminate shootings in crowded places have made many innocent victims; that towns are sacked as in the rude warfare of earlier ages; that those who run through fear are shot at sight; that in one case lately an inoffensive and industrious man, knowing little and caring less for politics, has been dragged from his family while they were reciting the Rosary and shot on the public road.'

"Things have become much worse since this was written. Men have been tortured with barbarous cruelty. Nor are cases wanting of young women torn undressed from their mother's care in the darkness of night. For all this not the men but their masters are chiefly to blame. And it is not a question of hasty reprisals which, however unjustifiable, might be attributed to extreme provocation, nor of quick retaliation on evil-doers, nor of lynch law for miscreants—much less of self-defence of any kind whatsoever. It is the indiscriminate vengeance of savages wreaked on a whole town or countryside without any proof of its complicity in crime by those who are ostensibly employed by the British Government to

protect the lives and property of the people, and restore order in Ireland. This went on month after month, and there was no sign of restraint, or reproof, or public investigation, or deterrent punishment on the part of the Authorities. It went on unchecked and unabated until the world was horrified at the deeds perpetrated under a regime called 'Government' in Ireland. Then it was palliated and excused, more than half denied, and less than half rebuked by a Minister of the Crown, on its way to being presented in a false light, equivalently condoned and approved by his superior in the British Government. Outrage has been connived at and encouraged, if not organised, not by obscure and irresponsible individuals, but by the Government of a mighty Empire professing the highest ideals of truth and justice. All the time the carnage of sectarian riots on a vast scale has been allowed to run its course in cities and towns of Ulster, resulting in woeful slaughter on either side, in deprivation of employment, in the burning of people's homes, and therefore in extermination for the weaker party. In Belfast a fortnight ago 8,100 persons had registered as expelled workers, and over 23,000 people were receiving daily relief. In no other part of Ireland is a minority persecuted. Only one persecuting section can be found among the Irish people, and perhaps recent sad events may, before it is altogether too late, open the eyes of the people to the iniquity of furnishing a corner of Ulster with a separate Government, or its worse instrument a special police force, to enable it all the more readily to trample underfoot the victims of its intolerance. But it would be idle to be too confident even of that. The governing classes across the water, instead of encouraging Ulster Unionists to coalesce with the rest of the country, have used that section for centuries as a spearhead directed at the heart of Ireland. Oppression, as everyone knows, generates crime, and

leads to further oppression. But more potent than even the rule of brute force in reducing Ireland to anarchy has been the grossly partial course taken by the British Government in regard to the North-East. The whole British Administration sat complaisantly while a Provisional Government was formed and an Army drilled in Ulster, the Police and Customs officials held up, the roads and wires seized. Let anyone contrast the inaction of the Government on the landing of arms at Larne with the onslaughts of the military when arms were landed at Howth, or the treatment of the Ulster Volunteers as compared with the Irish Volunteers, which resulted in the arming of orangemen and the disarming of the rest of Ireland. The mutiny at the Curragh showed that if the North-East opposed it the benefit of law under the British Constitution was not for the rest of Ireland. The highest offices in the gift of the State were for the contingent rebels of Ulster in contrast with the bullet for Irish insurgents. These days we have formal approval reported of the Belfast pogrom from a Minister of the Crown, and his promise of protection under the new Belfast Parliament for all who are true to the colours.

"A prominent member of the British Government can scarce open his lips without encouraging antipathy to Ireland on the part of the North-East, putting 'Ulster' on its old plantation mettle, and threatening everyone that Ulster will be heard from. If there is anarchy in Ireland the Ministers of the British Crown are its architects. The plausible sentiment of not coercing Ulster is founded on false pretence, but on false pretence with a purpose. Anyone of ordinary judgment can see how undesirable it is to coerce a minority if in reason the process can at all be avoided. But to give a guarantee to a minority in advance against coercion is to put a premium on unreasonableness, and make a settlement impossible.

Had such a pledge been given, and made good, to the minorities in Canada, which clung to Downing Street, and resisted the concession of reasonable government at home, that blessing would never have matured and created the greatest Dominion of our time. It is not hatred of coercion that operates in Ireland, but partiality for the North-East. Ulster must not suffer the contamination of a Dublin Parliament. But all Ireland must be coerced for the sake of the North-East, and especially Tyrone and Fermanagh must be put under a Belfast Parliament against their will. That is the outcome of the very acme of cruel, false pretence, and if it be pressed we warn the British Government of the danger of bitter and prolonged civil strife, with far greater reason for it than for the hostility to a single Parliament which, at the bidding of intolerance, the Government endorses in advance. Not by inhuman oppression will the Irish question be settled, but by the recognition of the indefeasible right of Ireland, as of every other Nation, to choose the form of Government under which its people are to live.

"But as more immediately urgent than anything else, we demand in the name of civilisation and national justice, a full enquiry into the atrocities now being perpetrated in Ireland by such a tribunal as will inspire the confidence of all, and with immunity of witnesses from the terrorism which makes it impossible to give evidence, with safety, to life or property. The Press is gagged in Ireland, the right of public meeting interdicted, and inquests suppressed. There has been brutal treatment of clergymen; and certainly to ban a distinguished Archbishop of Irish birth (Archbishop Mannix) who is the trusted leader of democracy in Australia, and prevent him from visiting his native land, is one of the most unwise steps that purblind and tyrannical oppression could take. But still more cruel and not less destructive

of any prospect of peace between the two countries, is the continued imprisonment of the Lord Mayor of Cork and the other hunger- strikers, who think nothing of their lives if they can do anything for Ireland in the sad plight to which the rule of the stranger has reduced her. In existing circumstances it would be idle to say to our people that the outlook was anything but menacing. It is not, however, idle; it is only what is right to say to them that there never was a time when they should rely on God with more confidence that He will prosper their struggle for freedom while they remain steadfast to the ideals and requirements of Holy Faith. It is for a Nation of Martyrs to cultivate constant self-restraint. Our people were a great Christian Nation when pagan chaos reigned across the Channel. They will remain, please God, a great Christian Nation when the new paganism that now prevails there has run its evil course. Our relations with England have been always a terrible misfortune for us. But in the end the constancy of Faith is sure to prevail. It will hasten the day of freedom and peace if we resolutely 'walk as the children of The Light; for the fruit of The Light is in All Justice and Godliness and Truth.' Accordingly see that none renders evil for evil to any man, but ever follow that which is good towards each other and towards all men. God is our help as He has been through all the centuries of trial, the Hope of our fathers. With His blessing upon us we need fear no foe. With His light to guide us we need dread no future. Let us use well the all-powerful weapon of prayer on which He bids us rely; and to that end the Bishops direct that a Novena, with the usual devotions, be held in the Churches in preparation for the Feast of the Irish Saints on the 6th of next November, and that while this trial lasts the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, Queen of Peace, be recited after the principal Mass on days of obligation and

every public Mass on other days. They also very earnestly recommend that in every household, along with the Rosary at night, the same Litany be said, to obtain from the Divine Mercy peace, freedom, and every blessing, spiritual and temporal, for our beloved country. The Bishops undertake to celebrate Mass for this purpose on the 6th November, and they request the priests of Ireland, secular and regular, as far as they are free, to do likewise."

The reference to the Lord Mayor of Cork in this statement brings to mind the heroic self-sacrifice of Terence MacSwiney who filled the office, but who had not at that moment paid the extreme penalty for his love of Ireland. His death was keenly felt by de Valera, who had held meetings of protest in New York against his treatment and who had continually cheered him by fraternal messages. One of these messages is given here, with the reply.

De Valera to Father Dominic, O.S.F.C., Chaplain to the Lord Mayor.

"Convey to the Lord Mayor my personal affection and esteem and this official expression of the gratitude of the Irish Nation. His spirit, and the spirit of those dying with him, will remain with our people for ever as a standard of civic courage and a pattern of soldierly sacrifice. We, his comrades, dedicate ourselves anew, pledging our lives that he shall not die in vain."

Father Dominic to de Valera.

"President de Valera.—Beannighim thu. Lord Mayor expresses deep gratitude on behalf of himself and comrades. Your generous tribute will sustain them in carrying on their struggle to the end. They put their trust in God, and are satisfied that if they die the recognition of the Republic will be advanced nearer to victory. God bless and guard you in your noble work."

During this terrible trial to which the Irish Nation was

subjected the people were defended by the I.R.A., who bravely stood up to the forces of the Crown, attacking and defeating them in the open and in their barracks. The troops and police thus defeated had been mainly recruited from amongst English soldiers who had returned from the battlefields of Europe, to be let loose now on a peace-loving people. While Sir Hamar Greenwood gave these men free rein, and, in the British House of Commons, callously denied that they were responsible for the terrible deeds set forth in the Bishop's statement, there were yet a few people in England who exposed the Government and thus helped Ireland. Commander Kenworthy, Captain Benn, Mrs. Despard, Lady Bonham Carter and others did much in this respect, but the Government's reply was still more coercion. From Mr. Lloyd George's speeches on matters not appertaining to Ireland one would think that he, above anybody else, would not be a party to such horrible crimes, yet he continued to work the blunted old machine which had been bequeathed to him, until it was smashed in his hands. He attempted to justify his position by the favourite argument that the holding of Ireland was necessary for the security of the British Empire, conveniently hiding the fact that this argument might be used with equal force by any of the European nations that wished to be guided by self-interest. It was used now with a view to counteracting the progress that was being made with the Irish cause in the United States, but de Valera soon exposed the hypocrisy of the English case. He pointed out that England's safety would be far better secured by the neighbourhood of an independent, free, sovereign, satisfied Ireland, than by the neighbourhood of a sullen, resentful Ireland. He then cited the first paragraph of the recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Cuba by the United States, and asked why a recognition of the independence and sovereignty of Ireland by England in the words of that paragraph would not afford England security, and Ireland her rightful place among the free nations of the world.

De Valera quoted only the first paragraph of the recognition of Cuba's independence, which is :—

> "That the Government of Cuba shall never enter into a Treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba, nor in any manner authorise or permit any foreign power or powers to obtain by colonisation of, or otherwise, lodgment in or control over any portion of said island."

There are other stipulations in the articles of recognition between Cuba and the United States, but these were not quoted or endorsed by de Valera. A man of candour and integrity, he came forward with this statesmanlike and sane pronouncement, smashing with one blow the argument that had, for many years, served England in foreign lands.

Coming to the lighter side of de Valera's American visit we find that he was presented with quite a number of gold plaques, pins, medals, &c., by his admirers. Innumerable banquets were arranged in his honour, at which all that was best in the political and social life of America was to be found. At some of these entertainments Irish-American colleens dressed in white, with green, white and gold streamers, presented him with baskets of roses and placed garlands on his shoulders—a scene which, in a way, recalled the happy days of the pre-war Feis in Ireland. It is said that the first official recognition of the Irish Republic in America was contained in a gold plaque presented to him by Mayor Rolph of San Francisco, and Mr. A. J. Gallagher, on behalf of the Board of Supervisors of the City and County.

The inscription read :—

> "Presented to Eamonn de Valera, *President of the Irish Republic*, by the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco and by the citizens thereof as a token of their esteem of his services in the cause of Irish Freedom."

A singular feature of de Valera's tour was the manner in which the journalists wrote him up. A Western paper headed one of its columns like this :—

> "*De Valera does not Drink Liquor,*
> *De Valera dislikes Hats,*
> *De Valera does not Smoke or Swear.*

Such headings, taken seriously in America, would, no doubt, create amusement over here. In another place where he defeated a heavy city official in a swimming contest the paper likened the race to that between "a herring and a tortoise." The inmates of the various Homes for the poor and the afflicted often expressed a desire to make the acquaintance of de Valera, who was always, indeed, only too happy to do anything that would bring consolation to the suffering. In one city a local newspaper made the startling announcement :—"*De Valera admired by the Blind and applauded by the Deaf.*" The paper hardly meant to insinuate that de Valera, like Mark Twain, had addressed an audience of deaf mutes : This was, no doubt, a mistake on the part of the compositor.

One of these Homes—"The Sunshine Club"—organised to brighten the lives of the aged and dependent, made him an honorary member. This was a great pleasure to de Valera, who was much impressed by the jollity of these good-natured old fellows with their flowing beards and quaint expressions.

"I have lots of sorrow in my life," said de Valera to these men, "perhaps a little more than I anticipated, but this is the first time I have ever been elected to a club which refuses to recognise the word sorrow. I am glad of it. My earnest prayer shall always be that there shall be nothing but sunshine in our lives to dispel the clouds and darkness we must all encounter now and then."

De Valera, too, like all great men, became a victim of the cartoonist, but these artists somehow seem always to have added strength to his general appearance—a strange contrast with the fate of his adversary, Mr. David

Lloyd George, a cartoon of whom—with hat, umbrella and legs—by R. S. H. in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of 1905, must have been the first source of inspiration to Charlie Chaplin.

De Valera very appropriately selected St. Patrick's Day for many of his messages to the people. The following is a St. Patrick's Day message which he sent to "The Scattered Children of the Gael":—

> "Sons and daughters of the Gael, wherever you be to-day, in the name of the Motherland, greeting. Whatever flag be the flag you guard and cherish, it is consistent with your highest duty to band yourselves together to use your united strength to help to break the chains that bind our sweet, sad Mother. And never before have the scattered children of Eire had such an opportunity for noble service. To-day you can serve not only Ireland, but the world.
>
> "A cruel war, and a more cruel peace, have shattered the generous of soul. Apathy mocks the high-minded, and heartless cynicism points the way to selfishness. We the children of a race that has never ceased to strive; that endured for ages the blights of war and the disappointments of peace, who have had the cup of the fruition of hope dashed from our lips in every decade and have not despaired, and whose temper has never soured, but who have always looked forward to the good in to-morrow—the world needs what we can give it to-day.
>
> "Once before our people gave their soul to a barbarian Continent, and led brute materialism to an understanding of higher things. It is still our mission 'to show the world the might of moral beauty,' to teach mankind peace and happiness in keeping the law of love, doing to our neighbour what we would have our neighbour do to us. We are the spear-points of the hosts in political slavery—we can be the shafts of dawn for the despairing and the wretched everywhere.
>
> "And those of our race who are citizens of the mighty land of America, whose thoughts will help to mould

the policy of the leader among the Nations—how much the world looks to you, this St. Patrick's Day, hopes in you, trusts in you. You can so easily accomplish that which is needed. You have only to have the will the way is so clear.

"What would not the people in the old land give for the power which is yours. May God and St. Patrick inspire you to use it, and to use it well."

Having dealt in "America" with the Republic and the imperishable nature of the struggle, the Rev. James J. Daly, S.J. gives us a characteristic sketch of de Valera, which, in an accurate and brilliant manner portrays the man, his work and his hopes. We quote from it as we step forward to the final Chapter so that the reader may be helped to a proper understanding of the great Irish soldier and statesman, who in diplomatic skill was the first to match the redoubtable British Premier.

Father Daly said :—

"In this highly complex struggle Eamonn de Valera has shown very extraordinary powers of leadership. He has imposed a programme of restraint upon a passionate race, and carried it out in despite of all the provocations which an almost omnipotent Empire could devise for their undoing. He has been living with us who are watching—a spectator among the Nations—for a year, pursuing a difficult and delicate mission with a tactfulness which must be maddening to his opponents. He has mastered our political and social complexities and has attained his ends quietly under the eyes of many who were eager to take offence. It is an exploit worthy of a statesman and a great man of affairs. His very opposition to England is mathematical in its process. He has offered his life for Ireland behind the barricades of Dublin, the last of the rebel commanders to surrender in the Easter Rising. He has been tried for his life, he has rotted in English prisons, he has risked

death escaping from them and been a fugitive from vindictive English justice; and if the time should come again when a holocaust of blood will be required to arouse a slumbering patriotism or to awake the democratic conscience of the world, he will seek the first place in the ranks of sacrifice.

"Yet for all this white intensity of ardour he is cold and passionless in his pursuit of Irish liberty. He harbours no hatred against England. He is not vexed by apathy and opposition. He is an idealist glowing with the beauty and justice of his ideal, confident that men will come to see in the long run the vision of his dreams, in the meantime infinitely patient with their reluctances, and knowing no irritation or weariness in the practical business of enlightening and winning them.

"His gentleness is his most striking trait, a quality not conspicuous in great men unless they happen to be saints. Eamonn de Valera would doubtless smile humorously over being mentioned with the saints. Still Dark Rosaleen has been the mother of saints, and he may have caught some of their ways. Seldom, if ever, have human ideals and spiritual realities, adventures and philosophy, modern aspirations and ancient dreams, mingled in such close and loving conspiracy as in the movement which Eamonn de Valera champions so valiantly and wisely, and of which he is the living symbol and oriflamme."

When asked for a message on the Irish situation de Valera said: —"We are certain of success as long as the Irish at home are true to their ideals."

CHAPTER VII.

N Friday, 24th December, 1920, de Valera landed in Ireland, having come as he went, without consulting Mr. Lloyd George or the British Foreign Office. He was met by Mr. Michael Collins, who, as he wended his way along the road in the early hours of the morning, was accosted by a stalwart member of the Dublin Metropolitan Police. This policeman, who was in uniform, actually walked portion of the way with Mr. Collins, but not having any suspicion as to his identity or the important nature of his mission, went on to discuss the prospects of Ireland returning again to normal conditions. Yet, although the authorities were unable to interpret the meaning of the movements that were actually taking place here under their eyes, they were very much on the alert elsewhere, where there was no Sinn Fein activity at all. From the moment de Valera left his hotel in New York on December 13th, British officials took every step possible to prevent his entry into Ireland. All the ports were closely watched and ships arriving from the States were boarded and thoroughly searched by armed forces of the Crown; yet all this notwithstanding, he landed quietly and reached his destination without mishap on the date mentioned.

Great as was the success of his American tour, and although as regards the main issue he had virtually secured the recognition of the Irish Republic, nothing being wanting but the final touch from the Senate, yet the situation at home so urgently called for his presence that he decided to no longer postpone his return to Ireland. From the

beginning of December Mr. Lloyd George was very busy with indirect offers of peace. At his suggestion Archbishop Clune and others visited the Irish capital to ascertain the views of the Sinn Fein leaders. A truce had almost been arranged when at the instance of Mr. Bonar Law a demand was made for the surrender of arms, a condition which the Irish Republican Army absolutely refused to entertain. The demand was said to have been put forward owing to a wavering which the English thought they perceived in the Sinn Fein ranks. The Prime Minister was soon sorry that he had not carried out his original intentions, instead of listening to Tory advice. De Valera saw the danger of division arising out of these negotiations, and with the intensified warfare to which the people were at the same time subjected, the danger was certainly real. The result might be defeat or a disastrous peace, which even the vote of the American Senate could not retrieve. He felt that his proper place was at home—in the gap of danger—and accordingly he hastened across the Atlantic to take his place at the head of his people.

He arrived not a moment too soon, for at no period did the fight rage more furiously, nor were the people more in need of the encouragement which his presence brought them. British hordes fresh from France had been let loose through the land, and some of the noblest lives had been sacrificed; but though the moment was dark, the confidence of the people in de Valera sustained them in their trial and turned what might have been defeat into the crowning victory of the war. In the course of a message to the Irish people he said:—

> "No one can be base enough now to barter away that for which our noblest have given up their lives, and so though the moment is dark and the world unheeding, confident of the final success, with calm deliberation let us face the new year of the Republic, ready to endure whatever yet may be necessary to win for those who come after us the priceless boon of permanent peace, and secure liberty in their native land."

During the next six months the fight daily grew fiercer, raids and skirmishes developing into big engagements and pitched battles. The more reckless the British Government became in its campaign of terrorism, the more resolute grew the defensive measures of the I.R.A. Every new tactic adopted by the British Commander-in-Chief was met by superior tactics on the part of the Irish army, a fact subsequently admitted in the British House of Commons by a Cabinet Minister.

The first election under the "Partition Act" was held in May. Whatever wavering British agents thought they saw in the ranks of Sinn Fein before the election, they could no longer be under any delusion, for the result was an overwhelming victory for the Republican party.

Before the election to the Northern Parliament de Valera had met Sir James Craig in an informal conference, but without much result. Indeed, little could be expected from such a conference, in view of the manner in which the political and religious prejudices of the Ulster Protestants had been played upon. Speaking of the meeting between Sir James Craig and de Valera, Captain Dixon, a Northern loyalist, said :—

> "The Ulster loyalists should feel proud of a leader who had shown such dauntless courage in going alone to meet de Valera. A pluckier thing had not been performed even during the European War."

It is not surprising, therefore, that the following appeal by de Valera to the men and women of North-east Ulster did not produce the desired result :—

> "Men and women of North-east Ulster, politicians and statesmen declare the Irish problem insoluble, but you, the plain people, can solve it in a few hours to-morrow in the quiet and privacy of your polling booth. Had the distracted people of Europe in 1914 your chance, there would have been no war, and Europe would not have been made desolate with a greater desolation awaiting it in its statesmen's peace.

"Vote to-morrow against war with your fellow-countrymen; vote that brother's hand may not have to be raised against brother's; vote so that there may be an end to boycott and retaliation, to partition, disunion and ruin. Lead the world by your example. Make a genuine people's peace. Live in history as having created a truly united Irish nation. Orange and green together can command the future. Ireland one is Ireland peaceful, prosperous and happy. Vote for it."

Circumstances had now so developed and the situation had become so serious for the British Government, that Mr. Lloyd George found himself compelled to enter into direct negotiation with the Irish leader. The King's speech at the opening of the Six-county Parliament in Belfast on 22nd June, in which a desire for peace was expressed, supplied the necessary excuse. Mr. Lloyd George accordingly addressed the following letter to de Valera :—

"Sir,—The British Government are deeply anxious that, so far as they can assure it, the King's appeal for reconciliation in Ireland shall not have been made in vain. Rather than allow yet another opportunity of settlement in Ireland to be cast aside, they feel it incumbent on them to make a final appeal in the spirit of the King's words for a conference between themselves and the representatives of Southern and Northern Ireland. I write, therefore, to convey the following invitation to you as the chosen leader of the great majority in Southern Ireland, and to Sir James Craig, the Premier of Northern Ireland :—

"(1) That you should attend a conference here in London in company with Sir James Craig, to explore to the utmost the possibility of settlement.

(2) That you should bring with you for the purpose any colleagues you may select.

The Government will, of course, give a safe conduct to all who may be chosen to participate in the conference.

We make this invitation with a fervent desire to end the ruinous conflict which has for centuries divided Ireland and embittered the relations of the peoples of these two islands, who ought to live in neighbourly harmony with each other, and whose co-operation would mean so much not only to the Empire but to humanity. We wish that no endeavour should be lacking on our part to realise the King's prayer, and we ask you to meet us, as we will meet you, in the spirit of conciliation for which His Majesty appealed."

D. Lloyd George.

To this de Valera replied:—

"Sir,

"I have received your letter. I am in consultation with such of the principal representatives of our nation as are available. We most earnestly desire to help in bringing about a lasting peace between the peoples of these two islands, but see no avenue by which it can be reached if you deny Ireland's essential unity and set aside the principle of national self-determination. Before replying more fully to your letter, I am seeking a conference with certain representatives of the political minority in this country.

"Eamonn de Valera,

"Mansion House, Dublin."

De Valera then sent the following letter to Sir James Craig, Earl Midleton, Sir M. E. Dockrell, Sir R. H. Woods, and Mr. A. Jameson:—

"A Chara,

"The reply which I as spokesman for the Irish nation shall make to Mr. Lloyd George will affect the lives

and fortunes of the political minority in this island no less than those of the majority. Before sending this reply, therefore, I would like to confer with you, and to learn from you, at first hand, the views of a certain section of our people of whom you are representatives. I am confident that you will not refuse this service to Ireland, and I shall await you at the Mansion House, Dublin, at 11 a.m., on Monday next, in the hope that you will find it possible to attend.

"EAMONN DE VALERA."

Sir James Craig refused to attend the conference in Dublin, but he accepted Mr. Lloyd George's invitation to London, where he was prepared to meet de Valera. De Valera, in consequence, addressed him the following letter:—

"SIR,

"I greatly regret you cannot come to conference here on Monday. Mr. Lloyd George's proposal, because of its implications impossible of acceptance in its present form. Irish political differences ought to be adjusted, and can, I believe, be adjusted on Irish soil. It is obvious that in negotiating peace between Great Britain and Ireland the Irish delegation ought not to be divided, but should act as a unit on some common principle.

"EAMONN DE VALERA."

The final conference between Messrs. de Valera and Griffith and the Unionist representatives was held at the Mansion House on Friday, July 8th, and as the result of a communication from Mr. Lloyd George a cessation of hostilities was arranged to take place from 12 noon on Monday, July 11th. On the same evening the invitation

to a conference to London was accepted by de Valera in the following terms:—

MANSION HOUSE,
DUBLIN,
July 8th, 1921.

The Right Honourable David Lloyd George,
10 Downing Street, London.

"SIR,

"The desire you express on the part of the British Government to end the centuries of conflict between the peoples of these two islands, and to establish relations of neighbourly harmony, is the genuine desire of the people of Ireland. I have consulted with my colleagues, and secured the views of representatives of the minority of our nation in regard to the invitation you have sent us. In reply, I desire to say that I am ready to meet and discuss with you on what basis such a conference as that proposed can reasonably hope to achieve the object desired.

"I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

"EAMONN DE VALERA."

On Saturday de Valera issued the following Proclamation:—

Fellow-Citizens,

During the period of the Truce each individual soldier and citizen must regard himself as custodian of the nation's honour. Your discipline must prove that in the most convincing manner this is the struggle of an organised nation. In the negotiations now initiated your representatives will do their best to secure a just and peaceful termination of this struggle; but history, particularly our own history, and the character of the issue to be decided, are a warning against undue confidence.

An unbending determination to endure all that may still be necessary, and fortitude such as you have shown in all your recent sufferings—these alone will lead you to the peace you desire. Should force be resumed against our nation, you must be ready on your part once more to resist. Thus alone will you secure the final abandonment of force, and the acceptance of justice and reason as the arbiter.

EAMONN DE VALERA.

July 9th, 1921.

Messrs. Lloyd George and de Valera met at 10 Downing Street, on Thursday, July 14th, and again on Friday, July 15th, on Monday, July 18th, and on Thursday, July 21st, the conference lasting from 1 to 2½ hours on each occasion. On Thursday the following agreed official communique was issued :—

"Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. de Valera had a further conversation at 11.30 this morning which lasted about an hour. A basis for a formal conference has not yet been found. Mr. de Valera has arranged to return to Ireland to-morrow and to communicate with Mr. Lloyd George again after further discussion with his colleagues."

On the previous evening, July 20th, Mr. Lloyd George submitted the following proposals with a view to an Irish settlement: -

"The British Government are actuated by an earnest desire to end the unhappy divisions between Great Britain and Ireland which have produced so many conflicts in the past, and which have once more shattered the peace and well-being of Ireland at the present time. They long with his Majesty the King, in the words of his gracious speech in Ireland last month, for a satisfactory solution of "these age-long Irish problems which for generations embarrassed our forefathers, as they now weigh heavily upon us,"

and they wish to do their utmost to secure that "every man of Irish birth, whatever be his creed and wherever be his home, should work in loyal co-operation with the free communities on which the British Empire is based."

They are convinced that the Irish people may find as worthy and as complete an expression of their political and spiritual ideals within the Empire as any of the numerous and varied nations united in allegiance to His Majesty's throne; and they desire such a consummation, not only for the welfare of Great Britain, Ireland and the Empire as a whole, but also for the cause of peace and harmony throughout the world. There is no part of the world where Irishmen have made their home but suffers from our ancient feuds; no part of it but looks to this meeting between the British Government and the Irish leaders to resolve these feuds, in a new understanding, honourable and satisfactory to all the peoples involved.

The free nations which compose the British Empire are drawn from many races, with different histories, traditions and ideals. In the Dominion of Canada British and French have long forgotten the bitter conflicts which divided their ancestors. In South Africa the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State have joined with two British colonies to make a great self-governing Union under His Majesty's sway.

The British people cannot believe that where Canada and South Africa, with equal or even greater difficulties, have so signally succeeded, Ireland will fail; and they are determined that, so far as they themselves can assure it, nothing shall hinder Irish statesmen from joining together to build up an Irish State in free and willing co-operation with the other peoples of the Empire.

Moved by these considerations, the British Government invite Ireland to take her place in the great association of free nations over which His Majesty

reigns. As earnest of their desire to obliterate old quarrels, and to enable Ireland to face the future with her own strength and hope, they propose that Ireland shall assume forthwith the status of a Dominion, with all the powers and privileges set forth in this document. By the adoption of Dominion status it is understood that Ireland shall enjoy complete autonomy in taxation and finance; that she shall maintain her own courts of law and judges; that she shall maintain her own military forces for home defence, her own constabulary and her own police; that she shall take over the Irish postal services and all matters relating thereto; education, land, agriculture, mines and minerals, forestry, housing, labour, unemployment, transport, trade, public health, health insurance, and the liquor traffic; and in sum, that she shall exercise all those powers and privileges upon which the autonomy of the self-governing Dominions is based, subject only to the considerations set out in the ensuing paragraphs. Guaranteed in these liberties, which no foreign people can challenge without challenging the Empire as a whole, the Dominions hold each and severally by virtue of their British fellowship a standing amongst the nations equivalent, not merely to their individual strength, but to the combined power and influence of all the nations of the Commonwealth. That guarantee, that fellowship, that freedom the whole Empire looks to Ireland to accept.

To this settlement the British Government are prepared to give immediate effect upon the following conditions which are, in their opinion, vital to the welfare and safety of both Great Britain and Ireland, forming as they do the heart of the Commonwealth:—

1. The common concern of Great Britain and Ireland in the defence of their interests by land and sea shall be mutually recognised. Great Britain lives by sea-borne food; her communi-

cations depend upon the freedom of the great sea routes. Ireland lies at Britain's side across the sea-ways North and South that link her with the sister nations of the Empire, the markets of the world, and the vital sources of her food supply. In recognition of this fact, which nature has imposed and no statesmanship can change, it is essential that the Royal Navy alone should control the seas around Ireland and Great Britain, and that such rights and liberties should be accorded to it by the Irish State as are essential for naval purposes in the Irish harbours and on the Irish coast.

2. In order that the movement towards the limitation of armaments which is now making progress in the world should in no way be hampered, it is stipulated that the Irish Territorial force, shall, within reasonable limits, conform in respect of numbers to the military establishments of the other parts of these islands.

3. The position of Ireland is also of great importance for the Air Services, both military and civil. The Royal Air Force will need facilities for all purposes that it serves; and Ireland will form an essential link in the development of air routes between the British Isles and the North American Continent. It is therefore stipulated that Great Britain shall have all necessary facilities for the development of defence and of communications by air.

4. Great Britain hopes that Ireland will, in due course, and of her own free will, contribute in proportion to her wealth to the regular Naval, Military, and Air Forces of the Empire. It is further assumed that voluntary recruitment for these forces will be permitted throughout Ireland, particularly for those famous Irish regiments which have so long and so gallantly served His Majesty in all parts of the world.

5. While the Irish people shall enjoy complete autonomy in taxation and finance, it is essential to prevent a recurrence of ancient differences between the two islands, and in particular to avert the possibility of ruinous trade wars. With this object in view, the British and Irish Governments shall agree to impose no protective duties or other restrictions upon the flow of transport, trade, and commerce between all parts of these islands.

6. The Irish people shall agree to assume responsibility for a share of the present debt of the United Kingdom, and of the liability for pensions arising out of the great War, the share, in default of agreement between the Governments concerned, to be determined by an independent arbitrator appointed from within His Majesty's Dominions.

In accordance with these principles, the British Government propose that the conditions of settlement between Great Britain and Ireland shall be embodied in the form of a treaty, to which effect shall in due course be given by the British and Irish Parliaments.

They look to such an instrument to obliterate old conflicts forthwith, to clear the way for a detailed settlement in full accordance with Irish conditions and needs, and thus to establish a new and happier relation between Irish patriotism and that wider community of aims and interests by which the unity of the whole Empire is freely sustained.

The form in which the settlement is to take effect will depend upon Ireland herself. It must allow for full recognition of the existing powers and privileges of the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland, which cannot be abrogated except by their own consent. For their part, the British Government entertain an earnest hope that the necessity of harmonious co-operation amongst Irishmen of all classes and creeds will be recognised throughout Ireland, and

they will welcome the day when by these means unity is achieved. But no such common action can be secured by force.

Union came in Canada by the free consent of the Provinces; so in Australia; so in South Africa. It will come in Ireland by no other way than consent. There can, in fact, be no settlement on terms involving, on the one side or the other, that bitter appeal to bloodshed and violence which all men of good will are longing to terminate. The British Government will undertake to give effect, so far as that depends on them, to any terms in this respect on which all Ireland unites. But in no conditions can they consent to any proposals which would kindle civil war in Ireland. Such a war would not touch Ireland alone, for partisans would flock to either side from Great Britain, the Empire and elsewhere with consequences more devastating to the welfare both of Ireland and the Empire than the conflict to which a truce has been called this month. Throughout the Empire there is a deep desire that the day of violence should pass and that a solution should be found, consonant with the highest ideals and interests of all parts of Ireland, which will enable her to co-operate as a willing partner in the British Commonwealth.

The British Government will therefore leave Irishmen themselves to determine by negotiations between them whether the new powers which the pact defines shall be taken over by Ireland as a whole and administered by a single Irish body, or taken over separately by Southern and Northern Ireland, with or without a joint authority to harmonise their common interests. They will willingly assist in the negotiation of such a settlement, if Irishmen should so desire.

By these proposals the British Government sincerely believe that they will have shattered the foundations of that ancient hatred and distrust which have disfigured our common history for centuries past. The

future of Ireland within the Commonwealth is for the Irish people to shape. In the foregoing proposals the British Government have attempted no more than the broad outline of a settlement. The details they leave for discussion when the Irish people have signified their acceptance of the principle of this pact.

On August 10th de Valera replied on behalf of the Ministry of Dail Eireann :—

Sir,

On the occasion of our last interview I gave it as my judgment that Dail Eireann could not, and that the Irish people would not, accept the proposals of your Government as set forth in the draft of July 20 which you had presented to me. Having consulted my colleagues, and with them given these proposals the most earnest consideration, I now confirm that judgment.

The outline given in the draft is self-contradictory, and " the principle of the pact " not easy to determine. To the extent that it implies a recognition of Ireland's separate nationhood and her right to self determination we appreciate and accept it.

But in the stipulations and express conditions concerning the matters that are vital the principle is strangely set aside and a claim advanced by your Government to an interference in our affairs, and to a control which we cannot admit.

Ireland's right to choose for herself the path she shall take to realise her own destiny must be accepted as indefeasible. It is a right that has been maintained through centuries of oppression and at the cost of unparalleled sacrifice and untold suffering, and it will not be surrendered. We cannot propose to abrogate or impair it, nor can Britain or any other foreign state or group of states legitimately claim to interfere with its exercise in order to serve their own special interests.

The Irish people's belief is that the national destiny can best be realised in political detachment, free from Imperialistic entanglements which they feel will involve enterprises out of harmony with the national character, prove destructive of their ideals, and be fruitful only of ruinous wars, crushing burdens, social discontent, and general unrest and unhappiness. Like the small states of Europe, they are prepared to hazard their independence on the basis of moral right, confident that as they would threaten no nation or people, they would in turn be free from aggression themselves.

This is the policy they have declared for in plebiscite after plebiscite, and the degree to which any other line of policy deviates from it must be taken as a measure of the extent to which external pressure is operative and violence is being done to the wishes of the majority.

As for myself and my colleagues, it is our deep conviction that true friendship with England, which military coercion has frustrated for centuries, can be obtained most readily now through amicable but absolute separation. The fear, groundless though we believe it to be, that Irish territory may be used as the basis for an attack upon England's liberties, can be met by reasonable guarantees not inconsistent with Irish sovereignty.

"Dominion status" for Ireland everyone who understands the conditions knows to be illusory. The freedom which the British Dominions enjoy is not so much the result of legal enactments or of treaties as of the immense distances which separate them from Britain, and have made interference by her impracticable. The most explicit guarantees, including the Dominions' acknowledged right to secede, would be necessary to secure for Ireland an equal degree of freedom. There is no suggestion, however, in the proposals made of any such guarantees. Instead, the natural position is reversed: our geographical

situation with respect to Britain is made the basis of denials and restrictions unheard of in the case of the Dominions; the smaller island must give military safeguards and guarantees to the larger, and suffer itself to be reduced to the position of a helpless dependency.

It should be obvious that we could not urge the acceptance of such proposals upon our people. A certain treaty of free association with the British Commonwealth group, as with a partial league of nations, we would have been ready to recommend, and as a Government to negotiate and take responsibility for, had we an assurance that the entry of the nation as a whole into such association would secure for it the allegiance of the present dissenting minority, to meet whose sentiment alone this step could be contemplated.

Treaties dealing with the proposals for free intertrade and mutual limitation of armaments we are ready at any time to negotiate. Mutual agreement for facilitating air communications, as well as railway and other communications, can, we feel certain, also be effected. No obstacle of any kind will be placed by us in the way of that smooth commercial intercourse which is essential in the life of both islands, each the best customer and the best market of the other. It must, of course, be understood that all treaties and agreements would have to be submitted for ratification to the National Legislature in the first instance, and subsequently to the Irish people as a whole, under circumstances which would make it evident that their decision would be a free decision, and that every element of military compulsion was absent.

The question of Ireland's liability "for a share of the present debt of the United Kingdom" we are prepared to leave to be determined by a board of arbitrators, one appointed by Ireland, one by Great Britain, and a third to be chosen by agreement, or in

default, to be nominated, say, by the President of the United States of America, if the President would consent.

As regards the question at issue between the political minority and the great majority of the Irish people, that must remain a question for the Irish people themselves to settle. We cannot admit the right of the British Government to mutilate our country, either in its own interest or at the call of any section of our population. We do not contemplate the use of force. If your Government stands aside, we can effect a complete reconciliation.

We agree with you "that no common action can be secured by force." Our regret is that this wise and true principle which your Government prescribes to us for the settlement of our local problem it seems unwilling to apply consistently to the fundamental problem of the relations between our island and yours. The principle we rely on in the one case we are ready to apply in the other, but should this principle not yield an immediate settlement, we are willing that this question, too, be submitted to external arbitration.

Thus, we are ready to meet you in all that is reasonable and just. The responsibility for initiating and effecting an honourable peace rests primarily not with our Government but with yours.

We have no conditions to impose, no claims to advance but the one, that we be freed from aggression. We reciprocate with a sincerity to be measured only by the terrible sufferings our people have undergone the desire you express for mutual and lasting friendship. The sole cause of the "ancient feuds" which you deplore has been, as we know, and as history proves, the attacks of English rulers upon Irish liberties. These attacks can cease forthwith, if your Government has the will. The road to peace and understanding lies open.

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

EAMONN DE VALERA.

On August 13, Mr. Lloyd George sent the following further communication :—

> The earlier part of your letter is so much opposed to our fundamental position that we feel bound to leave you in no doubt of our meaning. You state that after consulting your colleagues you confirm your declaration that our proposals are such as Dail Eireann could not and the Irish people would not accept. You add that the outline given in our draft is self-contradictory, and the principle of the pact offered to you not easy to determine. We desire, therefore, to make our position absolutely clear.
>
> In our opinion, nothing is to be gained by prolonging a theoretical discussion of the National status which you may be willing to accept as compared with that of the great self-governing Dominions of the British Commonwealth, but we must direct your attention to one point upon which you lay some emphasis, and upon which no British Government can compromise—namely, the claim that we should asknowledge the right of Ireland to secede from her allegiance to the King. No such right can ever be acknowledged by us.
>
> The geographical propinquity of Ireland to the British Isles is a fundamental fact. The history of the two islands for many centuries, however it is read, is sufficient proof that their destinies are indissolubly linked. Ireland has sent members to the British Parliament for more than a hundred years.
>
> Many thousands of her people during all that time have enlisted freely and served gallantly in the Forces of the Crown. Great numbers, in all the Irish provinces, are profoundly attached to the Throne. These facts permit of one answer, and one only, to the claim that Britain should negotiate with Ireland as a separate and Foreign Power.
>
> When you, as the chosen representative of Irish National ideals, came to speak with me, I made one

condition only, of which our proposals plainly stated the effect—that Ireland should recognise the force of geographical and historical facts.

It is those facts which govern the problem of British and Irish relations. If they did not exist, there would be no problem to discuss.

I pass, therefore, to the conditions which are imposed by these facts. We set them out clearly in six clauses in our former proposals, and need not re-state them here, except to say that the British Government cannot consent to the reference of any such questions, which concern Great Britain and Ireland alone, to the arbitration of a foreign Power.

We are profoundly glad to have your agreement that Northern Ireland cannot be coerced. This point is of great importance, because the resolve of our people to resist with their full power any attempt at secession by one part of Ireland carries with it of necessity an equal resolve to resist any effort to coerce another part of Ireland to abandon its allegiance to the Crown. We gladly give you the assurance that we will concur in any settlement which Southern and Northern Ireland may make for Irish unity within the six conditions already laid down, which apply to Southern and Northern Ireland alike; but we cannot agree to refer the question of your relations with Northern Ireland to foreign arbitration.

The conditions of the proposed settlement do not arise from any desire to force our will upon people of another race, but from facts which are as vital to Ireland's welfare as to our own. They contain no derogation from Ireland's status as a Dominion, no desire for British ascendancy over Ireland, and no impairment of Ireland's National ideals.

Our proposals present to the Irish people an opportunity such as has never dawned in their history before. We have made them in the sincere desire to achieve peace; but beyond them we cannot go. We trust

that you will be able to accept them in principle. I shall be ready to discuss their application in detail whenever your acceptance in principle is communicated to me.

D. Lloyd George.

In anticipation of a meeting of Dail Eireann, announced for August 16th, all the deputies in prison were released, with the exception of Sean MacKeon who was under sentence of death. The bravery and humanity of this distinguished Commandant had made him at once a popular hero, and when de Valera was informed of his further detention he at once made it clear that if this was persisted in, he could not accept responsibility for proceeding further with the peace negotiations. Next day Commandant MacKeon was released.

At the meeting of Dail Eireann on the 16th and 17th of August, at which the proposals were examined, de Valera dealt with the peace negotiations in two forcible speeches. He contrasted the justice of Ireland's cause with the greed and selfishness of the usurper. He pointed out the road that would bring real peace and happiness not alone to Ireland but to England. He urged great caution in dealing with a foe whose ways were well known to them. He pointed out the pitfalls ahead: and as regards the North, he was prepared from within Ireland to give up a good deal in order to have an Ireland that could look to the future without anticipating distracting internal problems. Amid applause, he summed up the whole situation as it stood, in these words:—

"We cannot, and we will not on behalf of the Nation, accept these terms."

Dail Eireann unanimously rejected the British proposals, and on the 24th of August the following reply was sent to Mr. Lloyd George:—

Sir,

The anticipatory judgment I gave in my reply of August 10 has been confirmed. I laid the proposals

of your Government before Dail Eireann, and, by an unanimous vote, it has rejected them. From your letter of August 13 it was clear that the principle we were asked to accept was that the "geographical propinquity" of Ireland to Britain imposed the condition of the subordination of Ireland's right to Britain's strategic interests as she conceives them, and that the very length and persistence of the efforts made in the past to compel Ireland's acquiescence in a foreign domination imposed the conditions of acceptance of that domination now.

We cannot believe that your Government intended to commit itself to a principle of sheer militarism destructive of international morality and fatal to the world's peace. If a small Nation's right to independence is forfeit when a more powerful neighbour covets its territory for the military or other advantages it is supposed to confer, there is an end to liberty. No longer can any small Nation claim a right to a separate sovereign existence. Holland and Denmark can be made subservient to Germany, Belgium to Germany or to France, Portugal to Spain. If Nations that have been forcibly annexed to Empires lose thereby their title to independence, there can be for them no re-birth to freedom. In Ireland's case, to speak of her seceding from a partnership she has not accepted, or from an allegiance which she has not undertaken to render, is fundamentally false, just as the claim to subordinate her independence to British strategy is fundamentally unjust. To neither can we, as the representatives of the Nation, lend countenance.

If our refusal to betray our Nation's honour and the trust that has been reposed in us is to be made an issue of war by Great Britain, we deplore it. We are as conscious of our responsibilities to the living as we are mindful of principle or of our obligations to the heroic dead. We have not sought war nor do we seek war, but if war be made upon us we must defend

ourselves, and we shall do so confident that whether our defence be successful, or unsuccessful, no body of representative Irishmen or Irishwomen will ever propose to the Nation the surrender of its birthright.

We long to end the conflict between Britain and Ireland. If your Government be determined to impose its will upon us by force and, antecedent to negotiation, to insist upon conditions that involve a surrender of our whole National position and make negotiation a mockery, the responsibility for the continuance of the conflict rests upon you.

On the basis of the broad guiding principle of Government by the consent of the governed, peace can be secured—a peace that will be just and honourable to all, and fruitful of concord and enduring amity. To negotiate such a peace, Dail Eireann is ready to appoint its representatives, and, if your Government accepts the principle proposed, to invest them with plenary powers to meet and arrange with you for its application in detail.

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

EAMONN DE VALERA.

To this Mr. Lloyd George replied :—

SIR,

The British Government are profoundly disappointed by your letter of August 24th, which was delivered to me yesterday. You write of the conditions of a meeting between us as though no meeting had ever taken place. I must remind you, therefore, that when I asked you to meet me six weeks ago I made no preliminary conditions of any sort. You came to London on that invitation and exchanged views with me at three meetings of considerable length.

The proposals which I made to you after those meetings were based upon full and sympathetic con-

sideration of the views which you expressed. As I have already said, they were not made in any haggling spirit. On the contrary, my colleagues and I went to the very limit of our powers in endeavouring to reconcile British and Irish interests. Our proposals have gone far beyond all precedent, and have been approved as liberal by the whole civilised world.

Even in quarters which have shown a sympathy with the most extreme of Irish claims, they are regarded as the utmost which the Empire can reasonably offer, or Ireland reasonably expect. The only criticism of them which I have yet heard outside Ireland is from those who maintain that our proposals have outstripped both warrant and wisdom in their liberality. Your letter shows no recognition of this and further negotiation must, I fear, be futile unless some definite progress is made towards acceptance of a basis.

You declare that our proposals involve a surrender of Ireland's whole national position and reduce her to subservience. What are the facts? Under the settlement which we have outlined Ireland would control every nerve and fibre of her National existence; she would speak her own language and make her own religious life; she would have complete power over taxation and finance, subject only to an agreement for keeping trade and transport as free as possible between herself and Great Britain, her best market; she would have uncontrolled authority over education and all the moral and spiritual interests of her race; she would have it also over law and order, over land and agriculture; over the conditions of labour and industry; over the health and homes of her people, and over her own land defence. She would, in fact, within the shores of Ireland be free in every aspect of national activity, national expression, and national development.

The States of the American Union, sovereign though they be, enjoy no such range of rights, and our pro-

posals go even further, for they invite Ireland to take her place as a partner in the great Commonwealth of free nations united by allegiance to the King.

> We consider that these proposals completely fulfil your wish that the principle of "Government by the consent of the governed" should be the broad guiding principle of the settlement which your plenipotentiaries are to negotiate.

That principle was first developed in England, and is the mainspring of the representative institutions, which she was the first to create. It was spread by her throughout the world, and is now the very life of the British Commonwealth.

We could not have invited the Irish people to take their place in that Commonwealth on any other principle, and we are convinced that through it we can heal the old misunderstandings and achieve an enduring partnership as honourable to Ireland as to the other nations of which the Commonwealth consists.

But when you argue that the relations of Ireland with the British Empire are comparable in principle to those of Holland or Belgium with the German Empire, I find it necessary to repeat once more that those are premises which no British Government, whatever its complexion, can ever accept. In demanding that Ireland should be treated as a separate sovereign power with no allegiance to the Crown, and no loyalty to the sister nations of the Commonwealth, you are advancing claims which the most famous national leaders in Irish history, from Grattan to Parnell and Redmond, have explicitly disowned.

Grattan, in a famous phrase, declared that "The ocean protests against separation, and the sea against union." Daniel O'Connell, the most eloquent, perhaps, of all the spokesmen of the Irish national cause, protested thus in the House of Commons in 1830 :—

> "Never did monarch receive more undivided

allegiance than the present King from the men who in Ireland agitate the Repeal of the Union. Never, too, was there a grosser calumny than to assert that they wish to produce a separation between the two countries. Never was there a greater mistake than to suppose that we wish to dissolve the connection."

And in a well-known letter to the Duke of Wellington in 1845, Thomas Davis, the fervent exponent of the ideals of Young Ireland, wrote :—

"I do not seek a raw repeal of the Act of Union. I want you to retain the Imperial Parliament with its Imperial power. I ask you only to disencumber it of those cares which exhaust its patience and embarrass its attention. I ask you to give Ireland a Senate of some sort, selected by the people, in part or in whole ; levying their Customs and Excise and other taxes ; making their roads, harbours, railways, canals, and bridges ; encouraging their manufactures, commerce, agriculture and fisherie ; settling their poor laws, their tithes, tenures, grand juries and franchises ; giving a vent to ambition, an opportunity for knowledge, restoring the absentees, securing work and diminishing poverty, crime, ignorance, and discontent. This, were I an Englishman, I should ask for England, besides the Imperial Parliament. So would I for Wales, were I a Welshman, and for Scotland, were I a Scotchman. This I ask for Ireland."

The British Government have offered Ireland all that O'Connell and Thomas Davis asked, and more, and we are met only by an unqualified demand that we should recognise Ireland as a foreign power. It is playing with phrases to suggest that the principle of government by consent of the governed compels a recognition of that demand on our part, or that in repudiating it we are straining geographical and

historical considerations to justify a claim to ascendancy over the Irish race. There is no political principle, however clear, that can be applied without regard to limitation imposed by physical and historical facts.

Those limitations are as necessary as the very principle itself to the structure of every free nation. To deny them would involve the dissolution of all democratic States. It is on these elementary grounds that we have called attention to the governing force of the geographical propinquity of these two islands and of their long historic association despite great differences of character and race.

We do not believe that the permanent reconciliation of Great Britain and Ireland can ever be attained without a recognition of their physical and historical interdependence, which makes complete political and economic separation impracticable for both.

I cannot better express the British standpoint in this respect than in words used of the Northern and Southern States by Abraham Lincoln in the first inaugural address. They were spoken by him on the brink of the American Civil War, which he was striving to avert.

> "Physically speaking" (he said) "we cannot separate. We cannot remove our respective sections from each other, nor build an impassable wall between them. . . . It is impossible, then, to make that intercourse more advantageous or more satisfactory after separation than before. . . . Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical old questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you."

I do not think it can be reasonably contended that the relations of Great Britain and Ireland are in any different case. I thought I had made it clear, both in my conversations with you and in my two subse-

quent communications, that we can discuss no settlement which involves a refusal on the part of Ireland to accept our invitation to free, equal, and loyal partnership in the British Commonwealth under one Sovereign.

We are reluctant to precipitate the issue, but we must point out that a prolongation of the present state of affairs is dangerous. Action is being taken in various directions which, if continued, would prejudice the truce, and must ultimately lead to its termination. This would, indeed, be deplorable.

Whilst, therefore, prepared to make every allowance as to time which will advance the cause of peace, we cannot prolong a mere exchange of notes. It is essential that some definite and immediate progress should be made towards a basis upon which further negotiation can usefully proceed.

Your letter seems to us, unfortunately, to show no such progress. In this and my previous letters I have set forth the considerations which must govern the attitude of His Majesty's Government in any negotiations which they undertake. If you are prepared to examine how far these considerations can be reconciled with the aspirations which you represent, I shall be happy to meet you and your colleagues.

I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

D. Lloyd George.

In the meantime de Valera was unanimously re-elected President of the Irish Republic.

Commandant Sean MacKeon, in proposing his re-election, used these words full of meaning :—"In no generation for more than a century has any Irish Leader equalled such achievements. No one has shown himself more fitted to lead his people and no one has shown himself more fitted to deal with the traditional foe. He has not been deceived by their promises, nor intimidated by their

threats. Eamonn de Valera first met the English as a soldier and he beat them as a soldier. He has been meeting them now as a statesman and he will beat them as a statesman. The honour and interest of our Nation are alike safe in his hands."

On August 30 de Valera replied as follows to Mr. Lloyd George's note of August 26th :—

Sir,

We, too, are convinced that it is essential that some definite and immediate progress should be made towards a basis upon which further negotiations can usefully proceed, and recognise the futility of a "mere exchange" of argumentative Notes. I shall therefore refrain from commenting on the fallacious historical references in your last communication.

The present is the reality with which we have to deal. The conditions to day are the resultant of the past, accurately summing it up and giving in simplest form the essential data of the problem. These data are :—

(1) The people of Ireland, acknowledging no voluntary union with Great Britain, and claiming as a fundamental natural right to choose freely for themselves the path they shall take to realise their national destiny, have by an overwhelming majority declared for independence, set up a Republic and more than once confirmed their choice.

(2) Great Britain, on the other hand, acts as though Ireland were bound to her by a contract of union that forbade separation. The circumstances of the supposed contract are notorious, yet on the theory of its validity the British Government and Parliament claim to rule and legislate for Ireland, even to the point of partitioning Irish territory against the will of the Irish people, and killing or casting into prison every Irish citizen who refuses allegiance.

The proposals of your Government submitted in the draft of July 20 are based fundamentally on the latter premises. We have rejected these proposals and our rejection is irrevocable. They were *not* an invitation to Ireland to enter into "a free and willing" partnership with the free nations of the British Commonwealth.

They were an invitation to Ireland to enter in a guise and under conditions which determine a status definitely inferior to that of these free States. Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, are all guaranteed against the domination of the major State, not only by the acknowledged Constitutional rights which give them equality of status with Great Britain and absolute freedom from the control of the British Parliament and Government, but by the thousands of miles that separate them from Great Britain. Ireland would have the guarantees neither of distance nor of right. The conditions sought to be imposed would divide her into two artificial States, each destructive of the other's influence in any common Council, and both subject to the military, naval, and economic control of the British Government.

The main historical and geographical facts are not in dispute, but your Government insists on viewing them from your standpoint. We must be allowed to view them from ours. The history that you interpret as dictating union we read as dictating separation. Our interpretations of the fact of "geographical propinquity" are no less diametrically opposed. We are convinced that ours is the true and just interpretation, and as a proof are willing that a neutral, impartial arbitrator should be the judge. You refuse and threaten to give effect to your view by force. Our reply must be that if you adopt that course we can only resist, as the generations before us have resisted.

Force will not solve the problem. It will never secure the ultimate victory over reason and right. If you again resort to force, and if victory be not

on the side of justice, the problem that confronts us will confront our successors.

The fact that for 759 years this problem has resisted a solution by force is evidence and warning sufficient. It is true wisdom, therefore, and true statesmanship, not any false idealism, that prompts me and my colleagues. Threats of force must be set aside. They must be set aside from the beginning, as well as during the actual conduct of the negotiations.

The respective plenipotentiaries must meet untrammelled by any conditions save the facts themselves, and must be prepared to reconcile their subsequent difference not by appeals to force, covert or open, but by reference to some guiding principle on which there is common agreement. We have proposed the principle of government by consent of the governed, and do not mean it as a mere phrase.

It is a simple expression of the test to which any proposed solution must respond if it is to prove adequate, and it can be used as criterion for the details as well as for the whole. That you claim as a peculiarly British principle, instituted by Britain, and "now the very life of the British Commonwealth," should make it peculiarly acceptable to you. On this basis, and this only, we see a hope of reconciling "the considerations which must govern the attitude" of Britain's representatives with the considerations that must govern the attitude of Ireland's representatives, and on this basis we are ready at once to appoint plenipotentiaries.

I am, Sir, faithfully yours,

EAMONN DE VALERA.

On receipt of this communication a hurried meeting of the British Cabinet was called at Inverness: Sir Hamar Greenwood, Lord FitzAlan and General Macready, the three principal British representatives in Ireland, left in

haste for the Highland capital. The Truce was being honourably maintained by both sides, but much uncertainty now prevailed as to the probable outcome of the negotiations.

On September 7th Mr. Lloyd George replied to de Valera as follows :—

"Sir,

His Majesty's Government have considered your letter of August 30th, and have to make the following observations upon it :—The principle of Government by consent of the Governed is the foundation of British constitutional development. But we cannot accept as a basis of practical conference, an interpretation of that principle which would commit us to any demands which you might present—even to the extent of setting up a Republic and repudiating the Crown. You must be aware that conference on such a basis is impossible. So applied, the principle of government by the consent of the governed would undermine the fabric of every democratic state and drive the civilised world back into tribalism. On the other hand, we have invited you to discuss our proposals on their merits, in order that you may have no doubt as to the scope and sincereity of our intentions. It would be open to you in such a conference to raise the subject of guarantees on any points in which you may consider Irish freedom prejudiced by these proposals.

His Majesty's Government are loath to believe that you will insist upon rejecting their proposals without examining them in conference. To decline to discuss a settlement which would bestow upon the Irish people the fullest freedom of National development within the Empire can only mean that you repudiate all allegiance to the Crown and all membership of the British Commonwealth. If we were to draw this inference from your letter, then further discussion between us could serve no useful purpose and all

conferences would be vain. If, however, we are mistaken in this inference, as we still hope, and if your real objection to our proposals is that they offer Ireland less than the liberty which we have described, that objection can be explored at a conference. You will agree that this correspondence has lasted long enough. His Majesty's Government must, therefore, ask for a definite reply as to whether you are prepared to enter a conference to ascertain how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire can best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations. If, as we hope, your answer is in the affirmative, I suggest that the conference should meet at Inverness on 20th instant.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

D. Lloyd George.

On September 14th, at a private session of the Dail, the Cabinet's reply to Mr. Lloyd George was approved, and in view of a possible conference with representatives of the British Government, the following delegation of plenipotentiaries was unanimously ratified, viz. :—

Mr. Arthur Griffith, Minister Foreign Affairs (Chairman).
Mr. Michael Collins, Minister for Finance.
Commandant R. C. Barton, Minister for Economic Affairs.
Commandant E. Duggan, Deputy Meath and Louth.
Mr. Geo. Gavan Duffy, Envoy at Rome, Deputy Dublin County.

The reply was despatched to Gairloch by Commandant Jos. M'Grath, T.D., and Mr. H. Boland, T.D. It was by no means pleasing to Mr. Lloyd George. After an hour's interview he asked the two emissaries to return to Dublin with the letter with a view to having it amended on certain points, declaring that in the meantime he would consider the letter unopened. The desired amendments were,

however, not made and the letter was published in its original form. This caused much uneasiness on the English side, and the proposed conference at Inverness was cancelled, Mr. Lloyd George stating that he should consult his colleagues regarding the course of action necessitated by the new situation.

The following is the letter as published :—

We have no hesitation in declaring our willingness to enter a conference to ascertain how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire can best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations. Our readiness to contemplate such an association was indicated in our letter of August 10. We have accordingly summoned Dail Eireann that we may submit to it for ratification the names of the representatives it is our intention to propose. We hope that these representatives will find it possible to be at Inverness on the date you suggest, September 20.

In this final note we deem it our duty to reaffirm that our position is and can only be as we have defined it throughout this correspondence.

Our nation has formally declared its independence, and recognises itself as a Sovereign State. It is only as the representatives of that State and as its chosen guardians that we have any authority or powers to act on behalf of our people.

As regards the principle of "government by consent," of the governed in the very nature of things it must be the basis of any agreement that will achieve the purpose we have at heart, that is, the final reconciliation of our nation with yours. We have suggested no interpretation of that principle save its everyday interpretation—the sense, for example, in which it was understood by the plain men and women of the world when on January 5, 1918, you said :—

"The settlement of the new Europe must be

based on such grounds of reason and justice as will give some promise of stability. Therefore it is that we feel that government with the consent of the governed must be the basis of any territorial settlement in this war."

These words are the true answer to the criticism of our position which your last letter puts forward. The principle was understood then to mean the right of nations that had been annexed to Empires against their will to free themselves from the grappling hook. That is the sense in which we understood it. In reality it is your Government, when it seeks to rend our ancient nation and to partition its territory, that would give to the principle an interpretation that "would undermine the fabric of every democratic State and drive the civilised world back into tribalism."

EAMONN DE VALERA.

On September 15 Mr. Lloyd George replied by telegram :

SIR,

I informed your emissaries who came to me here on Tuesday, the 13th, that the reiteration of your claim to negotiate with His Majesty's Government as the representatives of an independent and Sovereign State would make conference between us impossible. They brought me a letter from you in which you specifically reaffirm that claim, stating that your nation "has formally declared its independence and recognises itself as a Sovereign State," and, "it is only," you added, "as the representatives of that State and as its chosen guardians that we have any authority or powers to act on behalf of our people." I asked them to warn you of the very serious effect of such a paragraph, and I offered to regard the letter as undelivered to me in order that you might have time to reconsider it. Despite this intimation you have now published the letter in its original form.

I must, accordingly, cancel the arrangements for Conference next week at Inverness, and must consult my colleagues on the course of action which this new situation necessitates. I will communicate this to you as soon as possible, but as I am for the moment laid up here a few days' delay is inevitable. Meanwhile I must make it absolutely clear that His Majesty's Government cannot reconsider the position which I have stated to you. If we accepted conference with your delegates on a formal statement of the claim which you have reaffirmed, it would constitute an official recognition by His Majesty's Government of the severance of Ireland from the Empire and of its existence as an Independent Republic. It would, moreover, entitle you to declare as of right acknowledged by us that, in preference to association with the British Empire, you would pursue a closer association by Treaty with some foreign power. There is only one answer possible to such a claim as that. The great concessions which His Majesty's Government have made to the feeling of your people in order to secure a lasting settlement deserved in my opinion some more generous response, but so far every advance has been made by us. On your part you have not come to meet us by a single step, but have merely reiterated in phrases of emphatic challenge the letter and spirit of your original claim.

I am, yours faithfully,

D. Lloyd George.

De Valera replied :—

16*th September*, 1921.

Sir,

I received your telegram last night. I am surprised that you do not see that if we on our side accepted the conference on the basis of your letter of September

7th, without making our position equally clear, Ireland's representatives would enter the conference with their position misunderstood, and the cause of Ireland's right irreparably prejudiced.

Throughout the correspondence that has taken place you have defined your Government's position. We have defined ours. If the positions were not so definitely opposed there would, indeed, be no problem to discuss. It should be obvious that in a case like this, if there is to be any result, the negotiators must meet without prejudice and untrammelled by any conditions whatsoever except those imposed by the facts as they know them .

EAMONN DE VALERA.

The Prime Minister telegraphed the following reply to de Valera's letter of 16th September :—

SIR,

I have received the communication which you telegraphed to me last night. It is idle to say that a conference in which we had already met your delegates as representatives of an independent and Sovereign State would be a conference "without prejudice." To receive them as such would constitute a formal and official recognition of Ireland's severance from the King's domains. It would, indeed, entitle you, if you thought fit, to make a Treaty of amity with the King, but it would equally entitle you to make no Treaty at all, to break off the conference with us at any period and by a right which we ourselves had already recognised to negotiate the union of Ireland with a foreign power. It would also entitle you, if you insisted upon another appeal to force, to claim from foreign powers by our implicit admission the rights of lawful belligerents against

the King; if we dealt with you as a sovereign and independent State we should have no right to complain of other powers for following our example. These would be the consequences of receiving your delegates as the representatives of an independent State. We are prepared, in the words of my letter of the 7th to discuss with you "how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire can best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations." We cannot consent to any abandonment, however informal, of the principle of allegiance to the King, upon which the whole fabric of the Empire and every constitution within it are based. It is fatal to that principle that your delegates in the conference should be there as the representatives of an independent and Sovereign State. While you insist on claiming that, conference between us is impossible.

D. LLOYD GEORGE.

On receipt of Mr. Lloyd George's telegram de Valera telegraphed as follows:—

Sir,

In reply to your last telegram, just received, I have only to say that we have already accepted your invitation in the exact words which you re-quote from your letter of the 7th. We have not asked you to abandon any principle, even informally, but surely you must understand that we can only recognise ourselves for what we are. If this self-recognition be made a reason for the cancellation of the conference, we regret it, but it seems inconsistent. I have already had conferences with you, and in these conferences and in my written communication I have never ceased to recognise myself for what I was and am.

If this involves recognition on your part, then you have already recognised us. Had it been our desire to add to the solid substance of Ireland's right the veneer of the technicalities of international usage, which you now introduce, we might have claimed already the advantage of all these consequences which you fear would flow from the reception of our delegates now. Believe me, we have but one object at heart—the setting of the conference on such a basis of truth and reality as would make it possible to secure through it the result which the people of these two islands so ardently desire.

EAMONN DE VALERA.

A reply from Mr. Lloyd George was received on September 18th :—

Sir,

I have received your telegram of last night, and observe that it does not modify the claim that your delegates should meet us as the representatives of a sovereign and independent State. You made no such condition in advance when you came to see me in July. I invited you then to meet me, in the words of my letter, as "the chosen leader of the great majority in Southern Ireland," and you accepted that invitation. From the very outset of our conversations I told you that we looked to Ireland to own allegiance to the Throne, and to make her future as a member of the British Commonwealth. That was the basis of our proposals, and we cannot alter it. The status which you now claim in advance for your delegates is, in effect, a repudiation of that basis.

I am prepared to meet your delegates as I met you in July, in the capacity of "chosen spokesmen" for your people, to discuss the association of Ireland

with the British Commonwealth. My colleagues and I cannot meet them as the representatives of a sovereign and independent State without disloyalty on our part to the Throne and the Empire. I must, therefore, repeat that unless the second paragraph in your letter of the 12th is withdrawn, conference between us is impossible.

D. Lloyd George.

De Valera's reply was as follows:—

Sir,

We have had no thought at any time of asking you to accept any conditions precedent to a conference. We would have thought it as unreasonable to expect you, as a preliminary, to recognise the Irish Republic formally, or informally, as that you should expect us formally, or informally, to surrender our national position. It is precisely because neither side accepts the position of the other that there is a dispute at all, and that a conference is necessary to search for and discuss such adjustments as might compose it.

A treaty of accommodation and association properly concluded between the peoples of these two islands and between Ireland and the group of States in the British Commonwealth would, we believe, end the dispute for ever, and enable the two nations to settle down in peace, each pursuing its own individual development and contributing its own quota to civilisation, but working together in free and friendly co-operation in affairs of agreed common concern: to negotiate such a treaty the respective representatives of the two nations must meet. If you seek to impose preliminary conditions, which we must regard as involving a surrender of our whole position, they cannot meet.

Your last telegram makes it clear that misunder-

standings are more likely to increase than to diminish, and the cause of peace more likely to be retarded than advanced, by a continuance of the present correspondence. We request you, therefore, to state whether your letter of September 7th is intended to be a demand for a surrender on our part or an invitation to a conference free on both sides and without prejudice should agreement not be reached. If the latter, we readily confirm our acceptance of the invitation, and our appointed delegates will meet your Government's representatives at any time in the immediate future that you designate.

EAMONN DE VALERA.

On September 29th Mr. Lloyd George replied from Gairloch as follows:—

Sir,

His Majesty's Government have given close and earnest consideration to the correspondence which has passed between us since their invitation to you to send delegates to a conference at Inverness. In spite of their sincere desire for peace, and in spite of the more conciliatory tone of your last communication, they cannot enter a conference upon the basis of this correspondence. Notwithstanding your personal assurance to the contrary, which they much appreciate, it might be argued in future that the acceptance of a conference on this basis had involved them in a recognition which no British Government can accord. On this point they must guard themselves against any possible doubt. There is no purpose to be served by any further interchange of explanatory and argumentative communications upon this subject. The position taken up by His Majesty's Government is fundamental to the existence of the British Empire, and they cannot alter it. My colleagues and I remain, however, keenly anxious to make, in co-operation

with your delegates, another determined effort to explore every possibility of settlement by personal discussion. The proposals which we have already made have been taken by the whole world as proof that our endeavours for reconciliation and settlement are no empty form: and we feel that conference, not correspondence, is the most practical and hopeful way to an understanding such as we ardently desire to achieve. We, therefore, send herewith a fresh invitation to a conference in London on October 11th, where we can meet your delegates as spokesmen of the people whom you represent with a view to ascertaining how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire may best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations.

D. Lloyd George.

On September 30th de Valera accepted Mr. Lloyd George's invitation to a conference in London.

Mansion House,
Dublin,
30*th September*, 1921.

Right Hon. D. Lloyd George,
Gairloch.

Sir,

We have received your letter of invitation to a conference in London on October 11, "with a view to ascertaining how the association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British Empire may best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations."

Our respective positions have been stated and are understood, and we agree that conference, not correspondence, is the most practical and hopeful way to an understanding. We accept the invitation, and our

delegates will meet you in London on the date mentioned " to explore every possibility of settlement by personal discussion."

Faithfully yours,

EAMONN DE VALERA.

On the eve of the conference de Valera issued to the Irish people the following proclamation, which contains many significant and important passages :—

FELLOW-CITIZENS,

The conference in which the accredited representatives of the nation are about to engage with the representatives of the British Government must profoundly influence, and may determine, the whole course of our country's future. It affects the lives and fortunes of every section of the community. Whatever the differences of the past, it is the interest as it is the duty of all Irishmen to stand together for Ireland now. Our delegates are keenly conscious of their responsibilities. They must be made feel that a united nation has confidence in them and will support them unflinchingly. They share with each one of us the ardent desire that this secular conflict between the rulers of Britain and the Irish people may happily be brought to an end, but they realise that the ending of the conflict does not depend finally upon their will or upon the will of this nation. The struggle on our side has always been simply for the maintenance of a right that in its nature is indefeasible, and that cannot therefore be either relinquished or compromised. The only peace that in the very nature of things can end this struggle will be a peace consistent with the nation's right and guaranteeing a freedom worthy of the sufferings endured to secure it. Such a peace will not be easy to obtain.

The claim that conflicts with Ireland's right has been ruthlessly persisted in through centuries of blood.

It seems unlikely that this claim will be abandoned now. Peace and that claim are incompatible. The delegates are aware that no wisdom of theirs and no ability of theirs will suffice. They indulge, therefore, in no foolish hopes, nor should the country indulge in them. The peace that will end this conflict will be secured not by the skill or statesmanship of leaders, but by the stern determination of a close-knit nation steeled to the acceptance of death rather than the abandonment of its rightful liberty. Nothing but such a determination in our people can overcome the forces that our delegates will have to contend with. By a heroic endurance in suffering, Ireland has gained the position she holds. Were the prospect of further horrors or further sacrifices to cause her to quail or falter for a moment, all would again be lost. The threats that could force surrender in one vital particular would be relied on to force surrender in another, and another, till all were gone. Of necessity Ireland must stand where she is, unyielding and fearless on the rock of right, or be out-manœuvred and defeated in detail.

During the negotiations, then, the slightest lowering of the nation's morals will be fatal, and everyone whose thought or action tends to lower it is an enemy of peace—an enemy of the peoples of both islands—an enemy of the cause of humanity, whose progress is intimately linked up with each successive triumph of right over might. The power against us will use every artifice it knows in the hope of dispiriting, dividing, weakening us. We must all beware. The unity that is essential will best be maintained by an unwavering faith in those who have been deputed to act on the nation's behalf, and a confidence manifesting itself as hitherto in eloquent discipline. For this I appeal.

EAMONN DE VALERA.

Dublin, October 10, 1921.

The able manner in which de Valera conducted these preliminary negotiations brought him congratulations from all parts of the world. Perhaps the finest of all these was that contained in a cable from Cardinal O'Connell, of Boston, to Cardinal Logue, thus :—

> "And indeed during these later weeks the hearts of the Irish race were filled with pride when they saw the representatives of their race conduct themselves with a statesmanship that has challenged the admiration of the world."

The conference proceeded with its work as expeditiously as could be expected, having regard to the immense task on hand. On more than one occasion there was serious danger of a breakdown. Harmony was first disturbed by an exchange of telegrams between Pope Benedict XV. and King George V.

Pope Benedict XV. to King George.

> We rejoice at the resumption of the Anglo-Irish negotiations, and pray to the Lord, with all our heart, that He may bless and grant to Your Majesty the great joy and imperishable glory of bringing to an end the age-long discussion."

King George to Pope Benedict XV.

> "I have received the message of Your Holiness with much pleasure, and with all my heart I join in your prayer that the conference now sitting in London may achieve a permanent settlement of the *troubles in Ireland*, and may initiate a new era of peace and happiness for my people."

The implication contained in the King's reply forced de Valera to address the following telegram to his Holiness :—

> The people of Ireland have read the message sent by your Holiness to the King of Great Britain, and appreciate the kindly interest in their welfare and the

paternal regard which suggested it. I tender to your Holiness their gratitude. They are confident that the ambiguities in the reply sent in the name of King George will not mislead you as it may the uninformed, into believing that the troubles are "in" Ireland or that the people of Ireland own allegiance to the British King. The independence of Ireland has been formally proclaimed by the regularly elected representatives of the people of Ireland, and ratified by subsequent plebiscites. The trouble is between Ireland and Britain, and its source that the rulers of Britain have sought to impose their will upon Ireland, and by brutal force have endeavoured to rob her people of the liberty which is their natural right and their ancient heritage. We long to be at peace and in friendship with the people of Britain as with other peoples, but the same constancy through persecution and martyrdom that has proved the reality of our people's attachment to the faith of their fathers proves the reality of their attachment to their national freedom, and no consideration will ever induce them to abandon it.

EAMONN DE VALERA.

Mansion House, Dublin, Oct. 20th, 1921.

The necessity for de Valera's telegram can be judged by the storm created in the English Press by its publication. Mr. Ian MacPherson, late British Chief Secretary for Ireland, said that it was insolent and perversely malignant, and Mr. Lloyd George declared that it endangered the continued existence of the Peace Conference.

While awaiting the result of the Peace Conference de Valera inspected Volunteer corps in Clare and Galway, and at Limerick the freedom of the City was conferred upon him.

Perhaps the greatest honour, and as an intellectual man the one that appealed to him most, was his installation as Chancellor of the National University of Ireland. Acknow-

ledging the receipt of addresses on the occasion de Valera said that a nation's University to be worthy should throb with the full current of the nation's life, scintillate with the living fire of the nation's soul, reflecting back again upon the nation its own most energising beams and transmitting to all mankind the glow of its warmth and its light.

He had already observed elsewhere that these ideals could best be served through the medium of the Irish language. "Were I to get my choice, freedom without the Language or the Language without freedom, I would far rather have the Language without freedom," was the essence of his remarks delivered in Irish at the Ard Fheis of the Gaelic League. And his reasons for this view may be found in his message to Comradh na Gaedhilge, viz. :—"To save the national language is the especial duty of this generation. The ultimate winning back of our statehood is not in doubt. Sooner or later Ireland will recover the Sovereign Independence she once enjoyed. Should we fail, a future generation will succeed. But the language—that must be saved by us or it is lost for ever. Are we who are ready to make sacrifices that future generations may be free, going to rob these generations of that they would most fondly cherish—of that they would be proudest of as the very crown of their freedom? Are we going to doom them to bemoan for ever that which they themselves can never by any means restore—their own distinctive, their own traditional, their own beautiful Irish tongue?"

In the early part of December there was much uneasiness and speculation as regards the London Conference. The terms proposed by the British Government were not acceptable to the majority of the Dail Cabinet, but in order to make the greatest possible effort towards peace, counter-proposals embodying Ireland's maximum concession were again sent forward. Following this the news of a breakdown in the negotiations reached Ireland, and on Monday, December 5th, the Irish Republican Army was mobilised.

In the early hours of the morning of the 6th December, however, the British proposals were signed by all the Plenipotentiaries concerned. When de Valera heard this news he joyously remarked "we have won." Under paragraph 3 of the Cabinet instructions to the delegates the complete text of the Draft Treaty about to be signed was to be submitted to Dublin and a reply awaited. When this was not done de Valera naturally assumed that the Dail Eireann counter proposals had been accepted—hence his joy. But his hopes were soon shattered. When the full draft of the Treaty was received it was found that it contained clauses which subverted the existence of the Irish Republic. On the return home of the Plenipotentiaries a prolonged meeting of the Dail Cabinet was held, and rumours of division, now in circulation, were soon confirmed by the issue of the following letter to the Press by de Valera:—

To the Irish People:—

A Chairde Gaedheal:—You have seen in the public Press the text of the proposed Treaty with Great Britain. The terms of this agreement are in violent conflict with the wishes of the majority of this nation as expressed freely in successive elections during the past three years. I feel it my duty to inform you immediately that I cannot recommend the acceptance of this Treaty, either to Dail Eireann or to the country. In this attitude I am supported by the Ministers of Home Affairs and Defence.* A public session of Dail Eireann is being summoned for Wednesday next at 11 o'clock. I ask the people to maintain during the interval the same discipline as heretofore. The members of the Cabinet though divided in opinions are prepared to carry on the public services as usual. The army, as such, is, of course, not affected by the political situation, and continues under the same orders and control. The great test of our people has come.

* Austin Stack and Cathal Brugha.

Let us face it worthily without bitterness, and, above all, without recriminations. There is a definite constitutional way of resolving our political differences —let us not depart from it, and let the conduct of the Cabinet in this matter be an example to the whole nation.—Mise,

EAMONN DE VALERA.

The following is the text of the Treaty as signed in London :—

I.

Ireland shall have the same constitutional status in the community of nations known as the British Empire as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa, with a Parliament having powers to make laws for the peace, order and good government of Ireland and an Executive responsible to that Parliament, and shall be styled and known as the Irish Free State.

II.

Subject to the provisions hereinafter set out, the position of the Irish Free State in relation to the Imperial Parliament and Government and otherwise shall be that of the Dominion of Canada, and the law, practice and constitutional usage governing the relationship of the Crown or the representative of the Crown and of the Imperial Parliament to the Dominion of Canada shall govern their relationship to the Irish Free State.

III.

The representative of the Crown in Ireland shall be appointed in like manner as the Governor-General of Canada, and in accordance with the practice observed in the making of such appointments.

IV.

The oath to be taken by members of the Parliament of the Irish Free State shall be in the following form :—

> I....., do solemnly swear true faith and allegiance to the Constitution of the Irish Free State as by law established and that I will be faithful to H.M. King George V., his heirs and successors by law, in virtue of the common citizenship of Ireland with Great Britain and her adherence to and membership of the group of nations forming the British Commonwealth of Nations.

V.

The Irish Free State shall assume liability for the service of the Public Debt of the United Kingdom as existing at the date hereof and towards the payment of war pensions as existing at that date in such proportion as may be fair and equitable, having regard to any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set-off or counter-claim, the amount of such sums being determined in default of agreement by the arbitration of one or more independent persons being citizens of the British Empire.

VI.

Until an arrangement has been made between the British and Irish Governments whereby the Irish Free State undertakes her own coastal defence, the defence by sea of Great Britain and Ireland shall be undertaken by His Majesty's Imperial forces, but this shall not prevent the construction or maintenance by the Government of the Irish Free State of such vessels as are necessary for the protection of the revenue or the fisheries.

The foregoing provisions of this article shall be reviewed at a conference of representatives of the British and Irish Governments to be held at the expiration of five years from the date hereof with a view to the undertaking by Ireland of a share in her own coastal defence.

VII.

The Government of the Irish Free State shall afford to His Majesty's Imperial forces :—

(*a*) In time of peace such harbour and other facilities as are indicated in the annex hereto, or such other facilities as may from time to time be agreed between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State ; and

(*b*) In time of war or of strained relations with a Foreign Power such harbour and other facilities as the British Government may require for the purposes of such defence as aforesaid.

VIII.

With a view to securing the observance of the principle of international limitation of armaments, if the Government of the Irish Free State establishes and maintains a military defence force, the establishment thereof shall not exceed in size such proportion of the military establishments maintained in Great Britain as that which the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great Britain.

IX.

The ports of Great Britain and the Irish Free State shall be freely open to the ships of the other country on payment of the customary port and other dues.

X

The Government of the Irish Free State agrees to pay fair compensation on terms not less favourable than those accorded by the Act of 1920 to judges, officials, members of police forces, and other public servants who are discharged by it or who retire in consequence of the change of Government effected in pursuance hereof.

Provided that this agreement shall not apply to members of the Auxiliary Police Force or to persons recruited in Great Britain for the Royal Irish Constabulary during the two years next preceding the date hereof. The British

Government will assume responsibility for such compensation or pensions as may be payable to any of these excepted persons.

XI.

Until the expiration of one month from the passing of the Act of Parliament for the ratification of this instrument, the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State shall not be exercisable as respects Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act 1920 shall, so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, remain of full force and effect, and no election shall be held for the return of members to serve in the Parliament of the Irish Free State for constituencies in Northern Ireland, unless a resolution is passed by both Houses of Parliament of Northern Ireland in favour of the holding of such elections before the end of the said month.

XII.

If, before the expiration of the said month, an address is presented to His Majesty by both Houses of the Parliament of Northern Ireland to that effect, the powers of the Parliament and the Government of the Irish Free State shall no longer extend to Northern Ireland, and the provisions of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920 (including those relating to the Council of Ireland) shall, so far as they relate to Northern Ireland, continue to be of full force and effect, and this instrument shall have effect subject to the necessary modifications.

Provided that if such an address is so presented a Commission consisting of three persons—

One to be appointed by the Government of the Irish Free State ;

One to be appointed by the Government of Northern Ireland, and

One, who shall be Chairman, to be appointed by the British Government ;

shall determine, in accordance with the wishes of the in-

habitants, so far as may be compatible with economic and geographic conditions, the boundaries between Northern Ireland and the rest of Ireland, and for the purposes of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and of this instrument, the boundary of Northern Ireland shall be such as may be determined by such Commission.

XIII.

For the purpose of the last foregoing article, the powers of the Parliament of Southern Ireland under the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, to elect members of the Council of Ireland, shall, after the Parliament of the Irish Free State is constituted, be exercised by that Parliament.

XIV.

After the expiration of the said month, if no such address as is mentioned in Article 12 hereof is presented, the Parliament and Government of Northern Ireland shall continue to exercise as respects Northern Ireland the powers conferred on them by the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, but the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State shall in Northern Ireland have in relation to matters in respect of which the Parliament of Northern Ireland has not power to make laws under that Act (including matters which under the said Act are within the jurisdiction of the Council of Ireland) the same powers as in the rest of Ireland, subject to such other provisions as may be agreed in manner hereinafter appearing.

XV.

At any time after the date hereof the Government of Northern Ireland and the Provisional Government of Southern Ireland hereinafter constituted may meet for the purpose of discussing the provisions subject to which the last foregoing article is to operate in the event of no such address as is therein mentioned being presented, and those provisions may include:—

(*a*) Safeguards with regard to patronage in Northern Ireland,

(*b*) Safeguards with regard to the collection of revenue in Northern Ireland,

(*c*) Safeguards with regard to import and export duties affecting the trade or industry of Northern Ireland,

(*d*) Safeguards for minorities in Northern Ireland,

(*e*) The settlement of the financial relations between Northern Ireland and the Irish Free State,

(*f*) The establishment and powers of a local militia in Northern Ireland and the relation of the Defence Forces of the Irish Free State and of Northern Ireland respectively ;

And if at any such meeting provisions are agreed to, the same shall have effect as if they were included amongst the provisions, subject to which the powers of the Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State are to be exercisable in Northern Ireland under Article 14 hereof.

XVI.

Neither the Parliament of the Irish Free State nor the Parliament of Northern Ireland shall make any law so as either directly or indirectly to

Endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or

Give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status or

Affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school or

Make any discrimination as respects State aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations or

Divert from any religious denomination or any educational institution any of its property except for public utility purposes and on payment of compensation.

XVII.

By way of provisional arrangement for the administration of Southern Ireland during the interval which must elapse between the date hereof and the constitution of a Parliament and Government of the Irish Free State in accordance therewith, steps shall be taken forthwith for summoning a meeting of members of Parliament elected for constituencies in Southern Ireland since the passing of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and for constituting a Provisional Government, and the British Government shall take the steps necessary to transfer to such Provisional Government the powers and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties, provided that every member of such Provisional Government shall have signified in writing his or her acceptance of this instrument.

But this arrangement shall not continue in force beyond the expiration of 12 months from the date hereof.

XVIII.

This instrument shall be submitted forthwith by H.M. Government for the approval of Parliament, and by the Irish signatories to a meeting summoned for the purpose of the members elected to sit in the House of Commons of Southern Ireland, and, if approved, shall be ratified by the necessary legislation.

Signed :—

On behalf of the British Delegation	On behalf of the Irish Delegation.
D. Lloyd George.	Art Ó Griobhtha.
Austen Chamberlain.	Michaél Ó Coileain.
Birkenhead.	Riobárd Bartún.
Winston S. Churchill.	E. S. Ó Dugain.
L. Worthington-Evans.	Seórsa Ghabháin Úi Dhubhthaigh.
Hamar Greenwood.	
Gordon Hewart.	

December 6, 1921.

ANNEX.

I.

The following are the specific facilities required :—

Dockyard Port at Berehaven (*a*)—Admiralty property and rights to be retained as at the date hereof. Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

Queenstown (*b*)—Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties. Certain mooring buoys to be retained for use of His Majesty's ships.

Belfast Lough (*c*)—Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

Lough Swilly (*d*)—Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

Aviation (*e*)—Facilities in the neighbourhood of the above ports for coastal defence by air.

Oil Fuel Storage (*f*)—Haulbowline and Rathmullen to be offered for sale to commercial companies under guarantee that purchasers shall maintain a certain minimum stock for Admiralty purposes.

II.

A convention shall be made between the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State to give effect to the following conditions :—

(*a*) That submarine cables shall not be landed or wireless stations for communication with places outside Ireland be established except by agreement with the British Government; that the existing cable landing rights and wireless concessions shall not be withdrawn except by agreement with the British Government, and that the British Government shall be entitled to land additional submarine cables or establish additional wireless stations for communication with places outside Ireland.

(*b*) That lighthouses, buoys, beacons, and any navigational marks or navigational aids shall be maintained by the Government of the Irish Free State as at the date hereof, and shall not be removed or added to except by agreement with the British Government.

(*c*) That war signal stations shall be closed down and left in charge of care and maintenance parties, the Government of the Irish Free State being offered the option of taking them over and working them for commercial purposes, subject to Admiralty inspection, and guaranteeing the upkeep of existing telegraphic communication therewith.

III.

A convention shall be made between the same Governments for the regulation of civil communication by air.

At a private session of the Dail de Valera put forward proposals with a view to obtaining unity, but after four days' discussion his object was not attained. The public session was then resumed on December 19th, for the purpose of either approving or rejecting the Treaty. Day after day eloquent speeches were delivered for and against acceptance. In a speech, brilliant throughout, Miss Mary MacSwiney held the floor for close on 2¾ hours against the Treaty and in support of de Valera's attitude. Most of the deputies spoke on the occasion, with the result that the session was prolonged into January. In the course of his speech proposing that the Treaty be approved, Mr. Griffith said: "It is the first Treaty between the representatives of the Irish Government and the representatives of the English Government since 1172 signed on equal footing. It is the first Treaty that admits the equality of Ireland. It is a Treaty of equality and because of that I am standing by it. We have come back from London with that Treaty, which recognised the Free State of

Ireland. We have brought back the flag; we have brought back the evacuation of Ireland after 700 years by British troops and the formation of an Irish army. We have brought back to Ireland her full rights and powers of fiscal control; we have brought back to Ireland equality with England, equality with all nations which form the Commonwealth, and equal views in the direction of foreign affairs in peace and war."

Mr. Michael Collins supported the Treaty in an able speech, as did Mr. Duggan. Up to now no reference had been made to duress in the accepted meaning of the word. Mr. George Gavan Duffy and Commandant R. C. Barton declared, however, that they signed the Treaty reluctantly under the threat of immediate war. The kernel of the whole question hangs around this threat of war. Was it seriously meant or was it only bluff? The military and naval authorities had already calculated that it would cost something like £250,000,000 and require 200,000 men to defeat the I.R.A. After the truce a member of the British Cabinet said that even if the negotiations broke down the Government would go to the country before resuming the war. It may be that the threat of immediate war was a last resource to bring in the two delegates who were standing firm. The articles of agreement were signed, no doubt, under a certain amount of duress diplomatically fostered by the British representatives, but the extent to which its existence influenced the action of each individual delegate can be defined only by the delegate himself. People who had followed de Valera's correspondence with Mr. Lloyd George felt that the British Premier had, in effect, recognised the Sovereignty of Ireland; the relationship and responsibilities of the two nations to be settled by common agreement. The following is a summary, as published in the Press, of Mr. de Valera's speech against ratification of the Treaty. Unfortunately it cannot be given verbatim, as the official text is not available:—

> I think it would scarcely be in accordance with Standing Orders if I were to move directly the rejec-

tion of the Treaty. I daresay, however, it will be sufficient if I appeal to the House not to approve of the Treaty. We were elected by the Irish people, and did the Irish people think we were liars when we said that we meant to uphold the Republic, which was ratified by the vote of the people three years ago, and was further ratified—expressly ratified—by the vote of the people at the elections last May? When the proposal for negotiation came from the British Government asking that we should try by negotiation to reconcile national aspirations with the association of nations forming the British Empire there was no one here as strong as I was to make sure that every human attempt should be made to find whether such reconciliation was possible.

I am against this Treaty, because it does not reconcile Irish national aspirations with association with the British Commonwealth. I am against this Treaty, not because I am a man of war but a man of peace. I am against this Treaty because it will not end the centuries of conflict between the two nations of Great Britain and Ireland.

We went out to effect such a reconciliation and we have brought back a thing which will not even reconcile our own people much less reconcile Britain and Ireland.

Continuing, he said that if there was to be reconciliation, it was obvious that the party in Ireland that typified national aspirations for centuries should be satisfied, and the test of every agreement was whether the people were satisfied or not. A war-weary people would take things which were not in accordance with their aspirations.

You may, Mr. de Valera proceeded, have a snatch election now, and you may get a vote of the people, but I will tell you that Treaty will renew the contest that is going to begin the same history that the Union began, and Lloyd George is going to have the same

fruit for his labours as Pitt had. When in Downing Street, the proposals to which we could unanimously consent in the Cabinet were practically turned down at the point of the pistol and immediate war was threatened upon our people.

It was only then that this document was signed, and that document has been signed by plenipotentiaries, not perhaps individually under duress, but it has been signed, and would only affect this nation as a document signed under duress, and this nation would not respect it.

I wanted, and the Cabinet wanted, to get a document we could stand by, a document that could enable Irishmen to meet Englishmen and shake hands with them as fellow-citizens of the world.

That document makes British Authority our masters in Ireland. It was said that they had only an oath to the British King in virtue of common citizenship, but you have an oath to the Irish Constitution, and that Constitution will be a Constitution which will have the King of Great Britain as head of Ireland.

You will swear allegiance to that Constitution and to that King; and if the representatives of the Republic should ask the people of Ireland to do that which is inconsistent with the Republic, I say they are subverting the Republic. It would be a surrender which was never heard of in Ireland since the days of Henry II.; and are we in this generation, which had Irishmen famous throughout the world, to sign our names to the most ignoble document that could be signed?

When he was in prison in solitary confinement their warders told them that they could go from their cells into the hall, which was about 50 feet by 40. They did go out from the cells to the hall, but they did not give their word to the British jailer that he had the right to detain them in prison because they got that privilege.

Again on another occasion they were told that they could get out to a garden party, where they could see the flowers and the hills, but they did not for the privilege of going out to garden parties sign a document handing over their souls and bodies to the jailers.

Rather than sign a document which would give British authority in Ireland they would be ready to go into slavery until the Almighty God blotted out their tyrants. (Applause).

If the British Government passed a Home Rule Act or something of that kind he would not have said to the Irish people "Do not take it." He would have said, "Very well; this is a case of the jailer leading you from the cell to the hall," but by getting that they did not sign away any form of government they pleased.

It was said that an uncompromising stand for a Republic was not made. The stand made by some of them was to try and reconcile a Republic with an association. There was a document presented to that House to try to get unanimity, to see whether the views he held could be reconciled to that party which typified the national aspirations of Ireland for centuries. The document was put there for that purpose, and he was trying to bring forward before that assembly a document which would bring real peace between Great Britain and Ireland—a sort of document they would have tried to get, and would not have agreed if they did not get. It would be a document that would give real peace to the people of Great Britain and Ireland and not the officials. He knew it would not be a politicians' peace. He knew the politician in England who would take it would risk his political future, but it would be a peace between peoples, and would be consistent with the Irish people being full masters of everything within their own shores.

Criticism of the Treaty was scarcely necessary from that point of view, that it could not be ratified because it would not be legal to ratify it, because it would be

inconsistent with their position. They were elected there to be the guardians of an independent Irish State—a State that had declared its independence.

Unless they wished to follow the ignominious example of the Colonial Parliament that voted away the independence of the people in 1800 they could not ratify this instrument.

They could not ratify that instrument if it were brought before them for ratification.

It was, therefore, to be brought not for ratification, because it would be inconsistent, and the very fact that it was inconsistent showed that it could not be reconciled with Irish aspirations, because the aspirations of the Irish People had been crystallised into the form of government they had at the present time.

Continuing, Mr. de Valera said that as far as he was concerned he was probably the freest man there to express his opinion. He had said that when he was selected as President at the private session, he was there to maintain the independence of Ireland, and it was because he wished to do his best for the Irish people that he asked all present to approve of the rejection of the Treaty.

You will not be acting in the best interests of Ireland if you are going to pretend to the world—and it is only pretence—that this will lay the foundation of a lasting peace. You know perfectly well that even if Mr. Griffith and Mr. Collins set up a Provisional Government in Dublin Castle until the Irish people had voted upon it that Government would be looked upon as a usurpation equally with Dublin Castle in the past.

We know perfectly well there is nobody here who has expressed more strongly dissents from any attacks of any kind upon the delegates that went to London than I did. There is no one who knew better than I did how difficult is the task they had to perform. I appealed to the Dail, telling them the delegates had

to do something a mighty army or a mighty navy would not be able to do.

I hold that, and I hold it was in their excessive love for Ireland they have done what they have.

I am as anxious as anyone for the material prosperity of Ireland and the Irish people, but I cannot do anything that would make the Irish people hang their heads. I would rather see the same thing over again than that Irishmen should hang their heads in shame for having signed and put their hands to a document handing over their authority to a foreign country. The Irish people would not want me to save them materially at the expense of their national honour.

It was, Mr. de Valera proceeded, within the competence of the Irish people, if they wish to enter into an association with other peoples, to enter into the British Empire: it was within their competence if they wanted to choose the British monarch as their King. But did the Assembly think the Irish people had changed so much within the past year or two that they now want to get into the British Empire after seven centuries of fighting?

Had they so changed that they now wanted to choose the presence of the British monarch, whose forces they had been fighting against, and who had been associated with all the brutalities of the past couple of years: had they changed so much that they wanted to choose the King as their monarch? It was not King George as a monarch they choose; it was Lloyd George. The sad part of it, as he was saying, was that a grand peace could at that moment be made, and to see the difference. For instance, if approved by the Irish people, and if Mr. Griffith, or whoever might be in his place, thought it wise to ask King George over to open Parliament he would see black flags in the streets of Dublin. "Do you think," he asked, "that that would make for harmony between the two peoples?" What would the people of Great

Britain say when they saw the King accepted by the Irish people greeted in Dublin with black flags? If a Treaty was entered into, if it was a right Treaty, he could have been brought here ("No. no").

"Yes, he could. (Cries of "No, no".) Why not? I say if a proper peace had been made you could bring the President of France, the King of Spain, or the President of America here, or the head of any other friendly nation here in the name of the Irish State, and the Irish people would extend to them in a very different way a welcome as the head of a friendly nation coming on a friendly visit to their country, and not as a monarch who came to call Ireland his legitimate possession. In one case the Irish people would regard him as an usurper, in the other case it would be the same as a distinguished visitor to their country. Therefore, I am against the Treaty, because it does not do the fundamental thing and bring us peace. The Treaty left them a country going through a period of internal strife, just as the Act of Union did.

One of the great misfortunes in Ireland for past centuries had been the fact that their internal problems and their internal domestic questions could not be gone into because of the relationship between Ireland and Great Britain. Just as in America during the last Presidential election, it was not the internal affairs of the country were uppermost; it was other matters. It was the big international question. That was the misfortune for America at the time, and it was the great misfortune for Ireland for 120 years, and if the present Pact was agreed on that would continue. He was against it because it was inconsistent with their position, because if the Dail were to say the Irish people didn't mean it, then they should have told their representatives that they didn't mean it.

Had the chairman of the delegation said he did not stand for the things they had said they stood for, he

would not have been elected. The Irish people could change their minds if they wished to.

The Irish people were their masters, and they could do as they liked, but only the Irish people could do that, and they should give the people the credit that they meant what they said just as they (the Deputies) meant what they said.

"I do not think I should continue any further on this matter," continued Mr. de Valera. "I have spoken generally, and if you wish we can take these documents up, article by article, but they have been discussed in private session, and I do not think there is any necessity for doing so."

Therefore, he asked them to reject the Treaty for two main reasons, that, as every Teachtai knew, it was "absolutely inconsistent with our position; it gives away Irish Independence; it brings us into the British Empire; it acknowledges the head of the British Empire, not merely as the head of an association, but as the direct monarch of Ireland, as the source of executive authority in Ireland." The Ministers of Ireland will be His Majesty's Ministers, the Army that Commandant MacKeon spoke of will be His Majesty's Army. (Voices: "No".) You may sneer at words, but I say words mean, and I say in a treaty words do mean something, else why should they be put down. They have meanings and they have facts, great realities that you cannot close your eyes to. That Treaty means that the Ministers of the Irish Free State will be His Majesty's Ministers, and the Irish forces will be His Majesty's forces. ("No, No").

"Well, time will tell, and I hope it won't have a chance, because you will throw this out. If you accept it, time will tell: it cannot be one way in this Assembly and another way in the British House of Commons. The Treaty is an agreed document, and there ought to be pretty fairly common interpretation of it. If

there are differences of interpretation on them we known who will get the best of them.

"I hold," he proceeded, "and I don't mind my words being on record, that the chief executive authority in Ireland is the British monarch—the British authority. It is in virtue of that authority the Irish Ministers will function. It is under the commander-in-chief of the Irish Army, who will be the English monarch, they will swear allegiance, these soldiers of Ireland." It would be inconsistent with their position and with the whole national tradition and because it was inconsistent it could not bring peace.

"Do you think," he asked, "that because you sign documents like this you can change the current of tradition? You cannot. Some of you are relying on that 'cannot' when signing this Treaty. But don't put a barrier in the way of future generations."

Parnell was asked to do something like this—to say it was a final settlement. But he said, "No man has a right to set"—No man "can" is a different thing. "No man has a right"—take the context and you know the meaning. Parnell said practically, "You have no right to ask me, because I have no right to say that any man can set boundaries to the march of a nation."

As far as you can, if you take this you are presuming to set bounds to the onward march of a nation.

Dail Eireann accepted the Treaty by a majority of 7—64 for, 57 against, and in the British House of Commons ratification was carried by 166 votes to 47.

Before the vote on the Treaty, as signed in London, was taken, de Valera brought forwa d his counter proposals, a rough d.aft of which had already been before the deputies at a private session. This document came to be known as "document No. 2," and the proposals which it contained brought, as de Valera said, "The Republic to the brow of the precipice"; and with a further view to unity

and peace certain matters already accepted by the British Government were included. The proposals were based on external association with the British Commonwealth for the purposes of common concern, and under Article 6 His Britannic Majesty was to be recognised as head of the association just as Japan, England, France and the other powers might have recognised or elected President Wilson, or the King of Italy, as head or chairman of the League of Nations.

De Valera's proposals, Article 1 of which maintains inviolate the Sovereignty of Ireland, were as follows :—

> "In order to bring to an end the long and ruinous conflict between Great Britain and Ireland by a sure and lasting peace, honourable to both nations, it is agreed :—
>
> 1. That the legislative, executive, and judicial authority of Ireland shall be derived solely from the people of Ireland.
>
> 2. That, for purposes of common concern, Ireland shall be associated with the States of the British Commonwealth, viz., the Kingdom of Great Britain, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa.
>
> 3. That when acting as an associate the rights, status, and privileges of Ireland shall be in no respect less than those enjoyed by any of the component States of the British Commonwealth.
>
> 4. That the matters of "common concern" shall include Defence, Peace and War, Political Treaties, and all matters now treated as of common concern amongst the States of the British Commonwealth, and that in these matters there shall be between Ireland and the States of the British Commonwealth "such concerted action founded on consultation as the several Governments may determine."
>
> 5. That in virtue of this association of Ireland with

the States of the British Commonwealth citizens of Ireland in any of these States shall not be subject to any disabilities which a citizen of one of the component States of the British Commonwealth would not be subject to, and reciprocally for citizens of these States in Ireland.

6. That, for purposes of the Association, Ireland shall recognise His Britannic Majesty as head of the Association.

7. That, so far as her resources permit, Ireland shall provide for her own defence by sea, land and air, and shall repel by force any attempt by a foreign power to violate the integrity of her soil and territorial waters, or to use them for any purpose hostile to Great Britain and the other associated States.

8. That for five years, pending the establishment of Irish coastal defence forces, or for such other period as the Governments of the two countries may later agree upon, facilities for the coastal defence of Ireland shall be given to the British Government as follows :—

(*a*) In time of peace such harbour and other facilities as are indicated in the Annex hereto, or such other facilities as may from time to time be agreed upon between the British Government and the Government of Ireland.

(*b*) In time of war such harbour and other Naval facilities as the British Government may reasonably require for the purposes of such defence as aforesaid.

9. That within five years from the date of exchange of ratification of this Treaty a Conference between the British and Irish Governments shall be held in order to hand over the coastal defence of Ireland to the Irish Government, unless some other arrangement for naval defence be agreed by both Governments to be desirable in the common interest of Ireland, Great Britain, and the other Associated States.

10. That, in order to co-operate in furthering the principle of international limitation of armaments, the Government of Ireland shall not

(*a*) Build submarines unless by agreement with Great Britain and other States of the Commonwealth.

(*b*) Maintain a military defence force, the establishments whereof exceed in size such proportion of the military establishments maintained in Great Britain as that which the population of Ireland bears to the population of Great Britain.

11. That the Governments of Great Britain and of Ireland shall make a convention for the regulation of civil communication by air.

12. That the ports of Great Britain and of Ireland shall be freely open to the ships of each country on payment of the customary port and other dues.

13. That Ireland shall assume liability for such share of the present public debt of Great Britain and Ireland and of the payment of war pensions as existing at this date as may be fair and equitable having regard to any just claims on the part of Ireland by way of set off or counterclaim, the amount of such sums being determined, in default of agreement, by the arbitration of one or more independent persons being citizens of Ireland or of the British Commonwealth.

14. That the Government of Ireland agrees to pay compensation on terms not less favourable than those proposed by the British Government of Ireland Act of 1920, to that Government's judges, officials, members of police forces and other public servants who are discharged by the Government of Ireland or who retire in consequence of the change of government effected in pursuance hereof.

Provided that this agreement shall not apply to members of the Auxiliary Police Force or to persons

recruited in Great Britain for the Royal Irish Constabulary during the two years next preceding the date hereof. The British Government will assume responsibility for such compensation or pensions as may be payable to any of these excepted persons.

15. That neither the Parliament of Ireland nor any subordinate legislature in Ireland shall make any law so as either directly or indirectly to endow any religion or prohibit or restrict the free exercise thereof or give any preference or impose any disability on account of religious belief or religious status or affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending the religious instruction at the school or make any discrimination as respects State aid between schools under the management of different religious denominations or divert from any religious denomination, or any educational institution, any of its property except for public utility purposes and on payment of compensation.

16. That by way of transitional arrangement for the administration of Ireland during the interval which must elapse between the date hereof and the setting up of a Parliament and Government of Ireland in accordance herewith, the members elected for constituencies in Ireland since the passing of the British Government of Ireland Act, in 1920, shall, at a meeting summoned for the purpose elect a transitional government, to which the British Government and Dail Eireann shall transfer the authority, powers, and machinery requisite for the discharge of its duties, provided that every member of such transitional government shall have signified in writing his or her acceptance of this instrument. But this arrangement shall not continue in force beyond the expiration of twelve months from the date hereof.

17. That this instrument shall be submitted for ratification forthwith by His Britannic Majesty's Government to the Parliament of Westminster, and by the

Cabinet of Dail Eireann to a meeting of the members elected for the constituencies in Ireland set forth in the British Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and when ratifications have been exchanged shall take immediate effect.

ADDENDUM.

North-East Ulster.

Resolved :—That, whilst refusing to admit the right of any part of Ireland to be excluded from the supreme authority of the Parliament of Ireland or that the relations between the Parliament of Ireland and any subordinate legislature in Ireland can be a matter for Treaty with a Government outside Ireland, nevertheless, in sincere regard for internal peace, and in order to make manifest our desire not to bring force or coercion to bear upon any substantial part of the province of Ulster, whose inhabitants may now be unwilling to accept the national authority we are prepared to grant to that portion of Ulster which is defined as Northern Ireland in the British Government of Ireland Act of 1920, privileges and safeguards not less substantial than those provided for in the "Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland," signed in London on December 6, 1921.

ANNEX.

1. The following are the specific facilities referred to in Article 8 (*a*) :—

(*a*) Dockyard Port at Berehaven —British Admiralty property and rights to be retained as at the date hereof. Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

(*b*) Queenstown—Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties. Certain mooring buoys to be retained for use of His Britannic Majesty's ships.

(*c*) Belfast Lough -Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

(*d*) Lough Swilly —Harbour defences to remain in charge of British care and maintenance parties.

(*e*) Aviation—Facilities in the neighbourhood of the above ports for coastal defence by air.

(*f*) Oil Fuel Storage—Haulbowline, Rathmullen —To be offered for sale to commercial companies under guarantee that purchasers shall maintain a certain minimum stock for British Admiralty purposes.

2. A Convention covering a period of five years shall be made between the British and Irish Governments to give effect to the following conditions :—

(*a*) That submarine cables shall not be landed or wireless stations for communication with places outside Ireland be established except by agreement with the British Government ; that the existing cable landing rights and wireless concessions shall not be withdrawn except by agreement with the British Government ; and that the British Government shall be entitled to land additional submarine cables or establish additional wireless stations for communications with places outside Ireland.

(*b*) That lighthouses, buoys, beacons, and any navigational marks or navigational aids shall be maintained by the Government of Ireland as at the date hereof, and shall not be removed or added to except by agreement with the British Government.

(*c*) That war signal stations shall be closed down and left in charge of care and maintenance parties, the Government of Ireland being offered the option of taking them over and working them for commercial purposes, subject to British Admiralty inspection and guaranteeing the upkeep of existing telegraphic communication therewith.

Had de Valera's counter proposals been accepted, a permanent peace and reconciliation with England would have been achieved. Excellent as the Treaty undoubtedly is so far as it provides for Irish services, it has failed to bring England that which she most desired—peace with the Irish race, at home and abroad, leading to friendly co-operation with America in the solution of her world problems.

A Treaty between England and Ireland as independent nations would have brought strength to both, but until the Sovereignty of Ireland for which de Valera so valiantly fought, has been recognised, there can be no permanent peace with the Irish race. Perhaps Mr. Lloyd George, who professes to have the peace of the world at heart, may yet crown his career by taking this, the true and only road to peace and reconciliation between the two nations.

That day will also crown the career of Eamonn de Valera.

APPENDIX.

Ireland's Declaration of Independence—
Proclaimed by Dail Eireann,
January 21, 1919.

(Translation.)

Whereas the Irish people is by right a free people.

And whereas for 700 years the Irish people has never ceased to repudiate and had repeatedly protested in arms against foreign ursurpation;

And whereas English rule in this country is, and always has been, based upon force and fraud and maintained by military occupation against the declared will of the people:

And whereas the Irish Republic was proclaimed in Dublin on Easter Monday, 1916, by the Irish Republican Army, acting on behalf of the Irish people;

And whereas the Irish people is resolved to secure and maintain its complete independence in order to promote the common weal, to re-establish justice, to provide for future defence, to insure peace at home and goodwill with all nations, and to constitute a national policy based upon the people's will, with equal right and equal opportunity for every citizen;

And whereas at the threshold of a new era in history the Irish electorate has in the general election of December, 1918, seized the first occasion to declare by an overwhelming majority its firm allegiance to the Irish Republic:

Now, therefore, we, the elected representatives of the

ancient Irish people, in national parliament assembled, do, in the name of the Irish nation, ratify the establishment of the Irish Republic, and pledge ourselves and our people to make this declaration effective by every means at our command.

To ordain that the elected representatives of the Irish people alone have power to make laws binding on the people of Ireland, and that the Irish parliament is the only parliament to which that people will give its allegiance.

We solemnly declare foreign government in Ireland to be an invasion of our national right, which we will never tolerate, and we demand the evacuation of our country by the English garrison ;

We claim for our national independence the recognition and support of every free nation of the world, and we proclaim that independence to be a condition precedent to international peace hereafter ;

In the name of the Irish people we humbly commit our destiny to Almighty God, who gave our fathers the courage and determination to persevere through centuries of a ruthless tyranny, and strong in the justice of the cause which they have handed down to us, we ask His Divine blessing on this, the last stage of the struggle which we have pledged ourselves to carry through to freedom.

Ireland's Message to the Nations.

(Translation.)

To the nations of the world, greeting :

The nation of Ireland, having proclaimed her national independence, calls through her elected representatives in parliament assembled in the Irish capital on January 21, 1919, upon every free nation to support the Irish Republic by recognising Ireland's national status and her right to its vindication by the peace congress.

Nationally, the race, the language, the customs and traditions of Ireland are radically distinct from the English.

EAMONN DE VALERA.

Ireland is one of the most ancient nations of Europe, and she has preserved her national integrity vigorous and intact through seven centuries of foreign oppression; she has never relinquished her national rights, and throughout the long era of English usurpation she has in every generation defiantly proclaimed her inalienable right of nationhood down to her last glorious resort to arms in 1916.

Internationally, Ireland is the gateway to the Atlantic. Ireland is the last outpost of Europe towards the west: Ireland is the point upon which great trade routes between East and West converge; her independence is demanded by the freedom of the seas; her great harbours must be open to all nations, instead of being the monopoly of England. To-day these harbours are empty and idle solely because English policy is determined to retain Ireland as a barren bulwark for English aggrandizement, and the unique geographical position of this island, far from being a benefit and safeguard to Europe and America, is subjected to the purposes of England's policy of world dominion.

Ireland to-day reasserts her historic nationhood the more confidently before the new world emerging from the war, because she believes in freedom and justice as the fundamental principles of international law; because she believes in a frank co-operation between the peoples for equal rights against the vested privileges of ancient tyrannies, because the permanent peace of Europe can never be secured by perpetuating military dominion for the profit of empire, but only by establishing the control of government in every land upon the basis of the free will of a free people, and the existing state of war between Ireland and England can never be ended until Ireland is definitely evacuated by the armed forces of England.

For these, among other reasons, Ireland resolutely and irrevocably determined at the dawn of the promised era of self-determination and liberty, that she will suffer foreign dominion no longer—calls upon every free nation

to uphold her national claim to complete independence as an Irish Republic against the arrogant pretensions of England, founded in fraud and sustained only by an overwhelming military occupation, and demands to be confronted publicly with England at the congress of nations, that the civilized world having judged between English wrong and Irish right may guarantee to Ireland its permanent support for the maintenance of her national independence.

Ireland's Democratic Programme—Proclaimed by Dail Eireann.

(Translation.)

We declare in the words of the Irish Republican Proclamation the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be indefeasible, and in the language of our first president, Padraic Pearse, we declare that the nation's sovereignty extends not only to all men and women of the nation, but to all its material possessions: the nation's soil and all its resources, all the wealth and all the wealth-producing processes within the nation: and with him we re-affirm that all rights to private property must be subordinated to the public right and welfare.

We declare that we desire our country to be ruled in accordance with the principles of liberty, equality, and justice for all, which alone can secure permanence of government in the willing adhesion of the people.

We affirm the duty of every man and woman to give allegiance and service to the commonwealth and declare it is the duty of the nation to assure that every citizen shall have opportunity to spend his or her strength and faculties in the service of the people. In return for willing service, we, in the name of the Republic, declare the right of every citizen to an adequate share of the produce of the nation's labour.

It shall be the first duty of the government of the

Republic to make provision for the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the children, to secure that no child shall suffer hunger or cold from lack of food or clothing or shelter, but that all shall be provided with the means and facilities requisite for their proper education and training as citizens of a free and Gaelic Ireland.

The Irish Republic fully realizes the necessity of abolishing the present odious, degrading, and foreign poor law system, substituting therefor a sympathetic native scheme for the care of the nation's aged and infirm, who shall no longer be regarded as a burden, but rather entitled to the nation's gratitude and consideration. Likewise it shall be the duty of the Republic to take measures that will safeguard the health of the people and insure the physical as well as the moral well-being of the nation.

It shall be our duty to promote the development of the nation's resources, to increase the productivity of the soil, to exploit its mineral deposits, peat bogs, and fisheries, its waterways and harbours, in the interest and for the benefit of the Irish people.

It shall be the duty of the Republic to adopt all measures necessary for the re-creation and invigoration of our industries, and to insure that being developed on the most beneficial and progressive co-operative industrial lines, with the adoption of an extensive Irish consular service, trade with foreign nations shall be revived on terms of mutual advantage and goodwill; while undertaking the organization of the nation's trade, import and export, it shall be the duty of the Republic to prevent the shipment from Ireland of food and other necessaries until the wants of the Irish people are fully satisfied and the future provided for.

It shall devolve upon the national government to seek the co-operation of the governments of other countries in determining a standard of social and industrial legislation with a view to a general and lasting improvement in the conditions under which the working classes live and labour.

OATH OF ALLEGIANCE—(Subscribed to by Deputies).

(Translation.)

I.....do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I do not and shall not yield a voluntary support to any pretended Government, Authority, or Power within Ireland hostile and inimical thereto; and I do further swear (or affiirm) that, to the best of my knowledge and ability, I will support and defend the Irish Republic and the Government of the Irish Republic, which is Dail Eireann, against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; and that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion, so help me God.

LIST SHOWING THE VOTING FOR AND AGAINST THE TREATY.

For the Treaty—64.	Against the Treaty—57.
Cork City.	
Ald. J. J. Walsh,	Miss Mary McSwiney,
Ald. L. de Roiste,	D. O'Ceallachain.
Cork Mid., N., S., S.E., and W.	
Michael Collins,	Sean MacSwiney,
Sean Hayes,	Daniel Corkery,
P. O'Keeffe,	Sean Nolan,
Sean Hales,	Sean Moylan.
Cork East and North-East.	
	Thomas Hunter,
	David Kent,
	James Fitzgerald, Jun.

Clare County.

Sean Leddy,
Patrick Brennan,
Eamonn de Valera,
Brian O'Higgins.

Kerry and Limerick West.

Piaras Beaslai,
Finian Lynch,
J. Crowley,
Austin Stack,
Con. Collins,
E. Roche,
P. S. O'Cahill,
T. O'Donoghue.

Limerick East and City.

Dr. Hayes,
Wm. Hayes,
Mrs. O'Callaghan,
M. P. Colivet.

Tipperary Mid., North, and South.

Seumas Burke,
Ald. Jos. MacDonagh,
P. J. Moloney,
P. J. Count O'Byrne.

Waterford County, City, and Tipperary E.

Dr. Vincent White,
Cathal Brugha,
Seumas Robinson,
Eamonn Dee.

Carlow and Kilkenny.

Ald. W. T. Cosgrave,
G. O'Sullivan,
James Lennon,
E. Aylward.

Dublin County.

Frank Lawless,
G. Gavan Duffy,
Desmond Fitzgerald,
P. Derham,
J. O'Dwyer.
Mrs. Pearse.

Dublin City.

Joseph McGrath,
P. B. Cosgrave,
R. J. Mulcahy,
Michael Staines,
Daniel McCarthy,
Ald. Sean McGarry.
Ald. Charles Murphy,
Madam Markievicz,
Philip Shanahan,
Ald. Mrs. T. Clarke,
Ald. Sean T. O'Kelly.

Kildare and Wicklow.

Robert C. Barton,
C. M. Byrne,
Art. O'Connor.
Donal Buckley,
Erskine Childers.

Leix and Offaly.

Dr. Patrick McCarton.
Kevin O'Higgins,
Joseph Lynch,
Eamonn Bulfin.

Longford and Westmeath.

Joseph McGuinness,
Sean McKeon,
Lorcan Robbins.

Louth and Meath.

E. J. Duggan,
P. Hughes,
Ald. Jas. Murphy,
Justin McKenna.
J. J. O'Kelly ("Sceilg").

Wexford.

Ald. R. Corish,
Dr. James Ryan,
Sean Etchingham,
Seumas Doyle.

Fermanagh—Tyrone.

Sean O'Mahony.

Galway County.

P. O'Maille,
Prof. J. B. Whelehan,
G. Nicholls, solr.,
P. J. Hogan, solr.
Dr. Brian Cusack,
Liam Mellowes,
Frank Fahy.

Leitrim and Roscommon N.

J. N. Dolan,
A. Lavin,
T. Carter.
Count Plunkett.

Mayo S. and Roscommon S.

Wm. Sears,
D. O'Rourke,
Harry Boland,
Thomas Maguire.

Mayo, North and West.

Joseph MacBride.
Dr. Crowley,
P. J. Ruttledge, solr.
Thomas Derrig.

Sligo and Mayo East.

Alex. McCabe,
Thomas O'Donnell,
Frank Carty,
Dr. Ferran,
James Devins.

Cavan County.

Arthur Griffith,
Paul Galligan,
Sean Milroy.

Monaghan County.

Ernest Blythe,
Eoin O'Duffy.
Sean MacEntee.

Tirconnaill.

Joseph Sweeney,
P. J. Ward,
Dr. J. P. McGinley,
P. J. McGoldrick.
Samuel O'Flaherty,
Joseph O'Doherty.

National University.

Prof. M. Hayes,
Prof. W. F. Stockley,
Dr. Ada English.

Ald. T. Kelly was absent through illness, Mr. Laurence Ginnell was in South America, Mr. F. Drohan had resigned, and the Speaker, Mr. Eoin MacNeill, being in the chair, did not vote. Mr. R. C. Barton voted for the Treaty in accordance with the London agreement, but supported Mr. de Valera and the Republican Party afterwards.

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